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The Nation.

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THE ASNER CASE
Page 772

EDITORIAL

VERY CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Whatever the ultimate effect last week's mammoth disarmament rally in New York City will have on the prospects for world peace, it did much to rehabilitate the idea of peaceful public protest. The high purpose, sincerity, good humor and orderliness of the more than 750,000 marchers who gathered on Central Park's Great Lawn were widely and justly praised; even the New York police and sanitation departments were purring. The organizers of the demonstration, the June 12 Rally Committee, should be complimented for the way they kept the inevitable squabbles among participating groups from marring the aura of the occasion and its cumulative impact. Still, those who rally for life must not forget those for whom life is being made unlivable by Reagan budget cuts.

Equally worth noting was the dignity with which acts of civil disobedience were committed on June 14 by 1,600 demonstrators at the consulates of five nations with nuclear weapons. It was a good refresher course in the power of civil disobedience—deliberate, nonviolent violations of valid laws through which protesters invite punishment or injury to themselves in order to call attention to matters of overriding moral urgency. As carried out by the antinuclear protesters last week, the action was lawbreaking in the spirit of fidelity to law.

A sour note during this antibomb weekend was the report of the arrest of a handful of peace activists in Moscow, who only a week earlier had established a group to forge ties and engage in joint actions with kindred groups in the West. Participants in the June 12 rally, and all who share their commitment, should join in protesting these arrests to the Soviet authorities and in demanding that they grant to their citizens the same right to demonstrate that was exercised so gloriously in New York.

SCREENING 'LOU GRANT'
Todd Gitlin

VIETNAM NUMBERS GAME
Frances FitzGerald

BEYOND 'NO FIRST USE'
Mary Kaldor

SHOOTING THE INDIANS
Robert F. Sayre

THE TERROR NETWORK
A. J. Langguth

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY

NEOLIBERALS & DEMOCRATS

THOMAS FERGUSON AND JOEL ROGERS

At the first shock of recognition the mind reels. To anyone with a lively sense of the recent past, what is now happening in the Democratic Party is almost unbearably familiar. In defiance of all odds, after the tragedy of John Kennedy and the farce of Jimmy Carter, history threatens to repeat itself once more. The same farrago of multinationalist businessmen and bankers and their allies in the academy, the press and the foundations who have dominated the party since the days of the New Frontier is back again. The people who brought you the war in Vietnam, the Cuban invasion, the National Security State and rampant wiretapping, and who reneged on promises of labor law reform, comprehensive tax reform and full employment, are now marketing a new, lean, economy-sized ideology for the dismal 1980s: "neoliberalism."

Once again promising a break with the dogmas of the past and trailblazing paths out of economic decline and national misery, bright young Democratic politicians like Paul Tsongas, Joseph Biden, Gary Hart or even that much-maligned moonbeam Jerry "Lord of the Flies" Brown offer to rescue a country held hostage by Republican rule. "Alternative," "tough-minded" and (above all) "equitable" programs for domestic renewal and humane foreign policy dominate the discussions within the party's elite—from the speeches of Felix Rohatyn, available through Lazard Frères and *The New York Review of Books*, to the debates in such think tanks as the revived Brookings Institution or the Center for National Policy, to the talk in more informal gatherings like the Democratic Study Group, or, for that matter, Teddy Kennedy's

(Continued on Page 781)

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LETTERS.

LISTEN, WOLFE

Burlington, Vt.

Regarding Alan Wolfe's review of my recent book, *The Ecology of Freedom* ["Listen, Bookchin," *The Nation*, May 29]: I will not trade invectives with him over my polemical style, characterization of certain intellectual opponents, likes or dislikes of New Age politics, proclivity for "unqualified generalizations" and his astonishingly flippant treatment of my views on preliterate cultures, animism, modernity and progress. After reading his review, I find it surprising to learn that I believe "freedom is a byproduct of domination." To think that all this time I viewed my book as an unrelenting, perhaps "intemperate," critique of this traditionally Marxian notion!

The real tragedy in this whole affair is that any reader of *The Nation* who places his or her trust in Wolfe's judgment will never know that *The Ecology of Freedom*—a nearly 400-page volume that has been a decade in preparation—is structured around an attempt to formulate a radical social ecology and ecological ethics, a theory of the emergence of hierarchy and domination, an exploration of epistemologies of rule, a very extensive evaluation of technology and, most notably, the problems of reason and scientism raised by Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno of the Frankfurt School—thinkers whom, like many others, I greatly admire. Wolfe seems so intent on demonstrating that anarchists are atavistic "reactionaries" who have a yearning to "talk to horses" that he appears to be totally unfocused and even contradictory in his account of the book.

My only reply to Wolfe's review must be the book itself. I hope the discerning reader will consult it for its intrinsic merits and weaknesses, not with a historically dulled political ax to grind. *Murray Bookchin*

WOLFE REPLIES

Brooklyn, N.Y.

To tell the truth, my own politics are too confused right now to leave me with much of an ax, dull or otherwise, to grind. That is why I praised Murray Bookchin—evidently not enough—and why I called his book "lyrical and learned." I believe myself open as never before to learn what anarchists have to teach.

Bookchin misrepresents my critique. It was not of anarchism but of him. (There is a difference.) I was disturbed by the contradiction between the solidarity he preaches and the egocentrism he practices. His letter does not relieve my concern.

Bookchin argues numerous times in his book that capitalism's conception of individual freedom is a byproduct of systems of massive domination. He speaks, for example, of how "unfreedom emerges to yield the notion of freedom," and he implicitly praises, time after time, the fact that organic societies do not know a realm of freedom. On this question, as with his polemics, he has more in common with Marxism than he seems willing to acknowledge.

There is no "real tragedy in this whole affair." This exchange is a question of temperament, not tragedy. His bothers me. Mine, evidently, bothers him. His book deserves a wide audience. Take his advice and read it. *Alan Wolfe*

FORCED TESTIMONY

New York City

We were pleased to see the editorial "Crime Victims" [*The Nation*, June 12], in response to Bernardine Dohrn's jailing for contempt of the grand jury investigating the Brink's robbery in Rockland County, New York. Although the editorial was a bit tardy, it did address some of the civil liberties violations by government officials involved in the investigation.

However, the editorial failed to note that prior to Dohrn's incarceration, Yaasmyn Fula, Jerry Gaines, Asha Thornton and Eve Rosahn, three of whom are black, had already been imprisoned for refusing to cooperate with the same grand jury, and that two others, Alan Berkman and Shaheen Malik Jabbar, have been imprisoned since Dohrn was jailed. . . .

All of these people, like Dohrn, were taken into custody because they refused to cooperate with the grand jury, not because they had committed any crime. They have been put in jail without a trial for up to one and a half years as a means of forcing them to cooperate, to give "evidence." They are being held until imprisonment "magically" turns them into "informers," at which point they can be released.

Jail is not the only coercion. There is the stigma of guilt by association and the old McCarthy rubric, "If you don't answer, you are guilty." For some, there is also separation from their children; fourteen children are affected by these jailings.

The use of such methods to compel someone to "inform" is medieval and smacks of the worst tactics of the Congressional anti-subversive committees. There should be a point beyond which the government cannot go in investigating crimes. Forced testimony, given in secret and without the assistance of counsel, on pain of loss of freedom, is beyond that point. Many states have no grand juries and do not compel testimony, yet this does not impede their efforts to solve crimes. Such compulsion should be relegated, like the Court of Star Chamber and the Spanish Inquisition, to the museum of history.

The use of grand juries to harass political defendants is not new. During the Vietnam War, scores of grand juries were convened around the country; thousands of antiwar protesters were subpoenaed and many imprisoned. Irish-Americans have been subjected to similar treatment in the government's efforts to stop arms shipments to the Irish Republican Army.

Grand juries present a constitutional anomaly because there is almost nothing a lawyer can do to oppose them legally. Once and for all, compelled testimony before grand juries should be abolished.

Michael Ratner
President, National Lawyers Guild
Staff Attorney
Center for Constitutional Rights

Margaret L. Ratner
Attorney for Jerry Gaines
Staff Attorney
Center for Constitutional Rights

WEST BANK HISTORY

New York City

By international agreement, the West Bank is legally a part of Israel. Its status can be changed only by the consent of both Israel and the Arabs.

The Balfour Declaration and the League of Nations gave all of Palestine to the Jews as a "homeland." Britain unilaterally lopped off 80 percent to create what is now Jordan. From the remaining 20 percent the United Nations offered in 1948 to create one Jewish and one Arab state. The West Bank would have been Arab, had the Arabs only accepted it. Instead, dissatisfied with 90 percent of the Jewish homeland ending up in Arab hands, they chose to go to war with Israel.

You can't have your cake and eat it too. That's what the Arabs want. But by going to war, their "rights" to and in the West Bank were forfeited. If Lucy Komisar wishes to speak of "repression" there ["The West Bank as Bantustan," *The Nation*, May 29], I challenge her to cite any Arab state where Arabs have more political, economic and religious freedoms than they do under Israeli rule.

Where do Arabs enjoy autonomy? Not Jimmy Carter, not Anwar el-Sadat, but Menachem Begin offered autonomy to the Arabs on the West Bank. The Palestine Liberation Organization and Jordan do not want to see this occur, so riots, arson, rock-throwing, etc. have been instigated. Jordan has proclaimed that those who cooperate with Israel are "traitors" and will be shot.

Put the blame for all the disturbances where it belongs: not on Israel but on the Arabs. *Bernard Brodsky*

The Nation welcomes letters—typed, double-spaced and no longer than 300 words, please. Letters may be edited for reasons of space.

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EDITORIALS.

Violent Cycle

On the slopes of Etna and Vesuvius you can observe people growing vines and tilling the soil. They know that one day there will be an eruption, but they do not know on which day it will occur. So it was in Lebanon during the week before the Israeli onslaught. The Palestinian forces in the south were deployed very visibly and in large concentrations. The suburbs of Beirut were being plastered with a new poster hailing the revolt on the West Bank. Abu Jihad, the deputy military commander of Al Fatah, scoffed at Israeli saber rattling. "Let them kill all of us in the south," he told me, "we will never be defeated." (He spoke, perhaps, more truly than he knew.) General Sharon had announced, in the boldest terms, that Israeli security required the destruction of the P.L.O. infrastructure. It was just that nobody quite believed that he meant every word of it.

"Security" is a pretty exorbitant demand in the case of almost any nation. The pursuit of it can justify anything from MX missiles to the declaration of coastal gulfs as inland lakes. In the case of Israel, the definition is especially elastic. Its security now involves the forcible remaking of the Lebanese state. Exactly fifteen years after the Six Day War, the Israeli Army has again shown that it can transcend frontiers and redesign borders at will.

There were several ingredients in the Sharon plan, and almost all of them were successfully incorporated into last week's recipe. The first was to push the Palestinians out of southern Lebanon and out of range of Israeli towns in the Galilee. The second was to strengthen the hand of the two separate Christian and conservative forces in the country—one under Major Haddad to garrison the southern

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border, and one under the Gemayel clan's Phalange leadership in East Beirut and the coastal enclave around Jounieh. The third was to scatter and cripple the Moslem and leftist forces before next month's extraordinary Lebanese "presidential election." The hope was to achieve all of this without directly engaging Syrian forces, and by and large that objective has been reached as well. The sheer speed of the Israeli advance compelled an encounter with Syria and forced President Assad to make a brief stand in defense of Arab honor. That honor, after the hastily signed cease-fire with Damascus, must now be considered satisfied.

Behind this relatively straightforward set of targets lie two other related desires. These are the need to prevent the Palestinians from returning to the south as they did after the invasion of 1978, and the need to create a political status quo in Lebanon that would produce a government capable of acting, in its own interests, for that same goal. The first of these is being achieved by the method of physical liquidation. By June 14, the Israeli forces had completely encircled the surviving P.L.O. soldiery and were beginning to push the stopper into the killing bottle. In 1978, Gen. Mordechai Gur was attacked within Israel for letting so many Palestinians escape. General Sharon does not intend to be criticized for excessive tendermindedness. The cadres of the Palestinian revolution are to be killed in thousands. As for the civilians among whom they lived—*tant pis.*

In the breathing space thus created, which Sharon has estimated at between five and ten years, Israel hopes to move to the next stage, which is the creation of three buffers. Palestinian survivors will be encouraged to fold their tents and move to Jordan, while Israel tightens its hold on the West Bank. Then, in the Lebanese villages and towns where they used to live, the half-million refugees of last week's operation will be allowed back and offered the protection of Haddad from any subsequent anarchy or "terrorism." After so many years of bombardment and displacement, it seems very likely that many of these people will be relieved at the departure of the P.L.O. And, with Haddad's border zone substantially "thickened" and reinforced, there will be less doubt about who holds the monopoly of violence. Thirdly, finally and most delicately, there must emerge a government in Lebanon that accepts de facto partition.

In a sense, this situation existed already. The business and financial sector of Beirut has removed itself to the safer center of Jounieh and to the protection of the Phalange. The Syrians insist on controlling at least the eastern area of the country and the Bekaa Valley (which is the historic route of invasion toward Damascus). The Israelis demand their "protective belt" in the south, with possible access one day to the water resources of the Litani River. This means that the Lebanese government controls only a few areas of Beirut, a stretch of countryside to the north and east of it and (until last week) the international airport. This in turn makes, or made, the partition highly unstable. But with the Palestinians more or less extirpated, there is less reason for friction between Syria and the Christians, less occasion for a clash between Israel and Syria, and less of a challenge to the authority of the Lebanese state. So runs the reasoning.

It will, in practice, be very difficult to make a strong state in the image required by Israel. Elections held under the present conditions of dislocation and despair could only benefit the Christian right in a flagrantly unfair way, and their outcome would not be accepted by the Shiite Moslems in the south, the Druze and other important communities. This could mean, at worst, a renewal of the 1976 civil war. Alternatively, it could lead to a Syrian attempt to recover lost prestige and popularity by posing as the protectors of the Lebanese Moslems. And, since Israeli annexation of the Golan Heights, there has been slightly less incentive for Syria to give Israel an easy ride in creating an Arab Yalta in Lebanon. Partition happens to suit Damascus, but Damascus also has to live up to some of its grandiose claims as leader of the "Front of Steadfastness and Confrontation."

Then there is the question of what Palestinian tactics will be after this appalling defeat. Past lessons—such as Jordan in 1970—suggest that there will be some who favor a return to outright terrorism, hijacking and so forth. Assuming that the present leadership around Yasir Arafat survives intact, it is unlikely that such a tendency would gain control. But it will become infinitely harder to convince the rank and file that *any* coexistence with Israel is possible in the future. Begin might not consider this a loss, since he never officially acknowledged that the P.L.O. was interested in compromise in the first place. General Sharon, all the same, has made him appear a moderate. So the bitterness of this latest exile and exodus will dog peacemakers for a long time to come.

Speaking of peacemakers, what are we to say of General Haig? Having first lent his voice to the call for a cease-fire and withdrawal, the Secretary of State then seemingly relented. At least until the Palestinians were "mopped up," he was content to allow Israel a free hand. That will not be forgotten in the Arab world, which may have abandoned the Palestinians once again in this round but cannot be expected to watch the dismemberment of Lebanon indefinitely. Israel will have to live with the consequence of this "June War" for at least as long as it has lived with the consequences of the last one. CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

Christopher Hitchens has just returned from Beirut.

What Next?

Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger's statement in an interview on public television that he would ignore the June 12 disarmament rally in New York City was a useful reminder of how far the peace movement still has to go before the people in power—the people who have the Bomb—will listen. It is one thing to get more than three quarters of a million people to turn out for a festive day of vigil and celebration, but it is quite another to translate that turnout into an arms-race turnaround. The coalition of dedicated activists who worked so hard to make the June 12 demonstration a success are probably now asking themselves, "What next?" A number of

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good ideas have been bubbling up, but we were especially taken by two proposals passed on to us by Lawrence Weschler, who writes for *The New Yorker*.

First of all, Weschler says, the movement must and can quickly develop an electoral dimension. During the summer, peace groups should draw up a very specific pledge of support for a nuclear freeze and for cuts in the general level of military spending as well as categorical opposition to particular military projects like the MX missile. All Congressional candidates should be invited to sign the document, along with an accompanying reminder of accountability ("If I should fail to vote in line with these commitments, I will not deserve to be re-elected.") Lists of those who have signed—and those who have failed to—could be prominently advertised in every part of the country during the fall campaign. Rallies should be held a few weeks before the election to focus public attention on the issue.

The second proposal deals with another challenge. People have criticized the June 12 rally by saying, "This is all fine, but you couldn't have held such a rally in Moscow or Warsaw. Who will challenge the Eastern bloc's military-industrial establishment?" They have a good point. How can we put pressure on leaders in the undemocratic East, so that they will feel their people's longing for peace and freedom? Why not a letter-writing campaign? This does not mean letters to their leaders—rather, millions of letters from ordinary people in the West to their counterparts in the Soviet bloc. Let us procure phone books and address lists from Moscow, Leningrad, East Berlin, Dresden, Warsaw, Krakow, Bucharest, Budapest, Prague. Let us distribute the lists of names at peace demonstrations in Western Europe and North America; there could be pairings of cities, or factories, or agricultural communities from which individuals could choose names. Each of us would become responsible for one of them. A form letter could be drawn up and translated into every relevant language. Translators could be provided to handle the replies and draft the counterreplies.

Who knows what would happen next? Some letters might be stopped—but they can't stop all of them. There is already a burgeoning disarmament movement in East Germany, and one of Solidarity's last public statements called for decreased military spending to help salvage the Polish economy. A groundswell, grass-roots movement around the issue of nuclear disarmament could conceivably provide the basis for a widening democratizing movement throughout Eastern Europe—just as it could here.

AWARDS. Among Project Censored's honors list of twenty-five stories on subjects ignored by the mass media in 1981 were three from *The Nation*: "Love Canal Children: Left-over Lives to Live," by Tracy Freedman; "Libel as a Political Weapon," by Eve Pell, and "Secrets of a Union Buster," by Kinsey Wilson and Steve Askin. . . . Anita R. and Herbert F. Schiller have received the 1982 Golden PEN Award for their article "Who Can Own What America Knows?"

CENTRAL AMERICA WATCH.

Nine hundred fifty-seven soldiers dressed in battle fatigues and carrying new M-16 rifles snapped to attention before Salvadoran Defense Minister Gen. José Guillermo García and declared that they were "ready to struggle" against El Salvador's 5,000 to 7,000 guerrillas. Two weeks after their return from Fort Bragg, North Carolina, where they had received counter-insurgency training from U.S. Green Berets and Rangers, the soldiers of the new Ramón Belloso Battalion went into combat in the second largest offensive of the three-year-old war.

The Belloso Battalion joined the Atlacatl Battalion, which was trained by the Green Berets last year, in a 3,000-man operation in the northern Chalatenango province, a longtime guerrilla stronghold. It was the first major effort to put into practice the new tactics advocated by the United States, involving small combat groups dispersing throughout the countryside and imitating the tactics of mobile guerrilla bands. Salvadoran commanders have labeled this "taking the war to the guerrillas," noting that previous mobilizations of large troop contingents have made government soldiers sitting ducks for guerrilla ambushes. Over the last year, the government has launched more than forty major operations against the guerrillas, but they have had only limited success, and many observers concede that the rebels are stronger today than they were when they launched their first major offensive over eighteen months ago.

Briefing reporters on the Chalatenango operation, Col. Domingo Monterrosa, commander of the Atlacatl Battalion, declared that the Chalatenango offensive was a success for the armed forces, and at another briefing Defense Minister García claimed that "the army has total control of the country." But military officials in the northeast province of Morazán subsequently confirmed that guerrillas had overrun the 100-man garrison in the town of Perquín. This is the second time in ten months that Perquín has fallen to the rebels.

■ **The Reagan Administration has proposed a renewed military training program for Guatemala, as well as the sale of over $3 million in helicopter spare parts crucial to the counterinsurgency war. But that latter request appears now to be stalled following the return of several Congressional staff members from a visit to Guatemala City last month. The group met with President Efraín Ríos Montt and then-junta member Col. Fransisco Gordillo, who told them that Guatemala had not requested military aid from the United States despite the efforts of the U.S. Embassy to promote the sale. Embassy officials later admitted that the Guatemalan "request" was a holdover from the deposed regime of Maj. Gen. Romeo Lucas García.**

Upon their return to Washington, the staff members

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ARTICLES.

THE CHILL IS ON

The Screening Out of 'Lou Grant'

TODD GITLIN

This has been a cruel time for newspapers. *The New York Daily News* is on rocky ground, *The Washington Star* has failed, and CBS pulled the plug on what was arguably the best newspaper in the United States, *The Los Angeles Tribune. The Trib* was a fiction, of course, but far more than real papers that camouflage their methods in myths of objectivity, it told the inside story of how Lou Grant, Billie Newman, Joe Rossi, Charlie Hume, Mrs. Pynchon *et al.* went about gathering the big and little news of our time week after week—and against the cruelest competition of all, the fluff and flutter of prime time.

When CBS yanked *Lou Grant* from next season's schedule, it shut down an enterprise that for five years had discoursed amiably, seriously and influentially—if at times sonorously and predictably—about unemployment, dog-fighting, cattle poisoning, illegal aliens, chemical dumping, blacklisting and even the start of nuclear war. This meant the end of the longest-running character now on television: crusty, honorable, slow-moving Lou Grant, the fellow who had moved in 1977 from local TV (*The Mary Tyler Moore Show*) to this more serious business of newspapering.

What complicates the fiction is that the star of the show was television's most conspicuous political activist, Ed Asner. And so Hollywood automatically wondered if the cancellation was a punishment—blacklisting, in effect—for Ed Asner's politics. Especially after it came out that one *Lou Grant* advertiser, Kimberly-Clark, terminated its spots to steer clear of Asner's politics. The Moral Majority and other right-wing zealots were beating the drums, and the ghost of *Red Channels* was in the air. Had Asner gone too far? CBS held firm to its claim that, since *Lou Grant*'s ratings were falling, the cancellation was strictly business as usual. But television, like any business, keeps apprised of its customers' moods. The primary customers, in this case, are the advertisers whose business it is to rent the eyeballs of the audience. And advertisers are panicky folk. It turns out that at least one other *Lou Grant* advertiser, Vidal Sassoon Inc., was stampeded by the anti-Asner hubbub to go crying to CBS.

Business and political motives always intersect, and to differentiate is always difficult. One thing is sure, though: whatever the mix of motives, CBS's decision is reverberating throughout the industry. Actors are edgy: as partisans, how far can they go? Asner is already being at least graylisted. And the message is getting across that advertiser pressure will not be firmly resisted. During the first seven days of May, CBS canceled not only *Lou Grant* but *WKRP in Cincinnati*, its only entertainments whose writers were not allergic to the notion that large issues impinge on everyday drama. CBS executives like to call their shop "the Tiffany network." Evidently Tiffany's doesn't want bumper stickers annoying the customers.

I spoke recently with two CBS executives who had attended the scheduling meetings in New York where *Lou Grant* was dumped. Both flatly denied that Asner's politics was mentioned, let alone discussed. But often a central issue is so firmly planted in everyone's mind it need not be mentioned; Nixon and his co-conspirators, for example, didn't bother to go on about the evils of Communism. Certainly no one at CBS could have forgotten that Asner has become a political lightning rod. Arnold Becker, CBS's vice president for national television research, told me: "Ed Asner was perceived as a pain in the ass." It wasn't just that he had put in a good word for the left in El Salvador. There was also his visible support of the Screen Actors Guild when its members struck in the summer of 1980. And just after he was elected president of SAG last fall, a guild committee recommended that its annual award go to former SAG president Ronald Reagan. The SAG Board of Directors, acting within its normal mandate, said no because of Reagan's demolition of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization. The vote was 54 to 11, and Asner didn't vote. But never mind; Asner, says Becker, was perceived as "outspoken on all issues."

And indeed he was. A year ago, Asner told me his style was "wielding a cudgel," which he contrasted with Lou Grant's "more elegant and more effective" style of "dealing in a soft fashion with current-day crises." "Up and down passions," he called his political engagements: not quite the language of a man his opponents call self-righteous. That, however, was before he became president of SAG.

It was also before he made the national evening news last February 15 with a Washington press conference on behalf of medical aid for El Salvador. Asner and several other actors presented a representative of the Salvadoran guerrilla front with a check for $25,000. Contrary to later right-wing attacks and liberal muttering, the check was intended for medical aid to regions of El Salvador where the ruling junta did not include healing as part of its government service; the spending was to be supervised by Mexican doctors; and it was not Asner's personal gift but money raised through a direct-mail campaign. Former SAG president Charlton

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Heston denounced Asner on procedural grounds, telling Pat Aufderheide of *In These Times*: "He can do anything he wants to with his money, as far as I'm concerned. He can give it to the Soviet Union to pacify Afghanistan if he wants to. But he has an overriding responsibility to separate his own acts from those positions of the guild." No matter that Asner was not, in fact, introduced as the guild president; no matter that he did say he was speaking only for himself. President Reagan overrode the niceties, saying he was "very disturbed" because in his own Hollywood days—the days of the blacklist he maintains didn't exist—"the guild had a solid rule that it did not engage in politics."

No one on the right seemed alarmed when Asner and SAG supported Poland's labor union, Solidarity. But now the right wing went wild:

•On March 1, just before that night's *Lou Grant* show, John Amos, chief executive officer of the American Family Corporation, which owns five stations in Missouri, Alabama, Georgia and Iowa, read an editorial on the air on its two CBS affiliates denouncing Asner for becoming "the self-appointed Secretary of State of America" and decrying "the liberal left" for equating El Salvador and Vietnam. "Vietnam was on the other side of the world," Amos said, "while El Salvador is just two steps away from being next door to us. If El Salvador falls to the communists, next comes Guatemala and then Mexico. We have a 1,300-mile open border with Mexico. The Rio Grande River is not an ocean; in fact, half the year it's a dry riverbed anyone can walk or drive a tank across."

•On March 10, Joseph Solomon, the president of Vidal Sassoon Inc., wrote to CBS board chairman William S. Paley:

> Please find attached to this letter copies of letters we have received from viewers who have taken exception with [*sic*] Ed Asner using his position for political purposes. As the sponsor of the Ed Asner show we are indeed concerned. We, by sponsoring the show, did not wish to embroil ourselves in a political controversy.
>
> We do not feel that we should be pressured into withdrawing our sponsorship, but on the other hand, we do not wish to have our products suffer because of an unfortunate association with a political issue. Please advise us how this matter should be handled. We are very concerned about our company image and the image of our products, and we therefore look to you for a solution to this unfortunate situation.

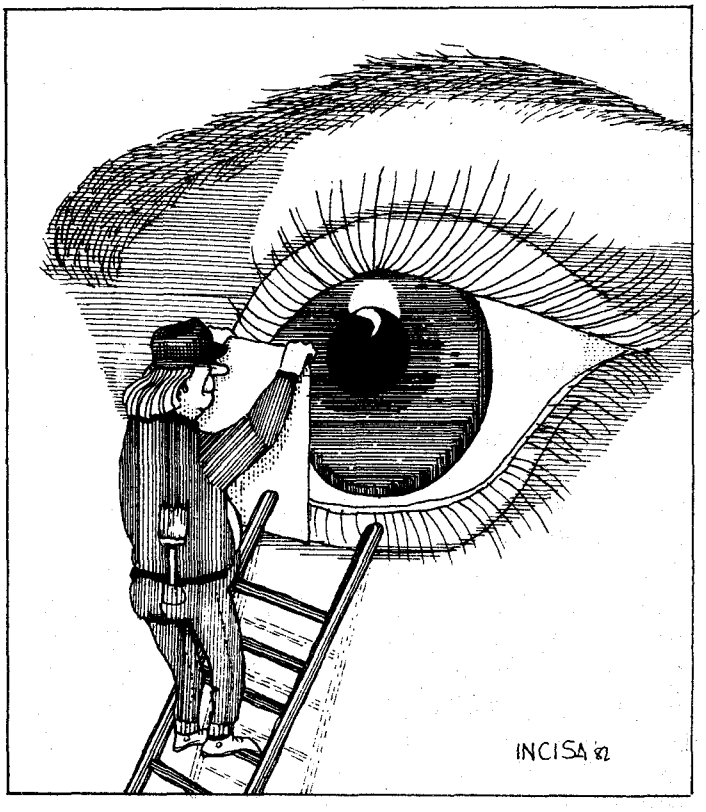
(As of early June, the total number of letters Sassoon had received protesting its participation in *Lou Grant* was—thirteen.) To which CBS president Thomas H. Wyman responded on April 5: "CBS cannot set standards of acceptability of a performer based on his or her personal, political or religious convictions." Interestingly, in light of Heston's charges, Wyman also wrote: "Mr. Asner stated unequivocally at his recent press conference that in expressing his views on El Salvador, he was speaking as a private citizen and in no other capacity."

•Also early in March, a *Lou Grant* fan named Margot Bollock wrote to Kimberly-Clark, manufacturer of Kleenex and Kotex, to say she was switching *to* their products in appreciation of Asner's politics. On March 15, Kimberly-Clark wrote her back: "Thank you for writing to us about your objections to Ed Asner's recent statement on El Salvador. We appreciate the opportunity to tell you that we have discontinued all advertising on the Lou Grant television program."

•On March 19, Jerry Falwell sent out a mailing likening Asner to the right's darling of treason, Jane Fonda, and soliciting money to run advertisements "in major newspapers across the country" asking readers to choose between Reagan and Asner. The advertisement that appeared in *The Los Angeles Times* on April 30, adorned by a hammer and sickle and a map showing El Salvador dwarfing the United States, asked: "Are we supposed to stand idly by and allow Hollywood radicals to dictate America's foreign policy?"

•On April 22, Republican Congressman John LeBoutillier, the author of *Harvard Hates America*, sent out a mailing on behalf of something called the Council of Inter-American Security, calling for a boycott of eight *Lou Grant* sponsors (not including Kimberly-Clark or Vidal Sassoon). Names and addresses were thoughtfully supplied, along with a preaddressed, prewritten postcard to William S. Paley.

It is not clear how much of the right-wing reaction got back to the CBS brass, or how seriously they took it. Normally the networks hate to bow to a single offended sponsor, since that admits an infringement on their power. After hearing from Margot Bollock, Asner called James Rosenfield, executive vice president of the CBS Broadcast Group, who had defended *Lou Grant* years before when a nursing home episode incurred the wrath of the American Nursing



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Home Association and led General Foods to yank its spots. This time, Asner says, "Rosenfield was low-key, sounding as if he was very tired of dealing with all the static about *Lou Grant*, or me." Rosenfield did say that the Kimberly-Clark spots would be resold with ease to another company; indeed, time on the *Lou Grant* show customarily sells at a premium. This sort of last-minute substitution is normal these days; with advertisers jittery about pressure from the right, they often decide that a particular show isn't the most suitable display for their spots.

Still, there is evidence that CBS was watching both Asner and *Lou Grant* closely for political as well as business reasons. As early as February 24, syndicated *Chicago Sun-Times* TV columnist Gary Deeb floated what sounds very much like a network trial balloon, reporting that ratings were down almost 10 percent for the season thus far, "and if CBS officials are searching for a reason, they probably won't have to look any further than Ed Asner's continuing flirtation with politics." "Many CBS executives," Deeb went on, "are getting tired of Asner's crusading, particularly with the viewership for *Lou Grant* suffering damage as a result of the star's oft-stated political views." Deeb did not pause to note that, on average, all CBS shows were slipping in the ratings. Indeed, what with competition from both independents and cable, total network ratings were down this May by 7 percent compared with last May; CBS alone was down by 9 percent.

Lou Grant producers and writers were apprehensive, and even talked about making Lou more conservative next season, shifting the burden of enlightenment further toward Billie and Rossi. Some of the staff thought Asner's visibility was damaging the show. Later, Asner even contemplated leaving the show, but dismissed the notion as "a grandstand play."

As the decisive first week of May loomed, rumors circulated that the show would be dumped. Ratings were indeed down. Between the season debut on November 2 and February 8, *Lou Grant* averaged a Nielsen rating of 17.5 (i.e., 17.5 percent of Nielsen's sample households tuned in) and an audience share of 28.3 (i.e., 28.3 percent of all sets on during that time slot were tuned in to *Lou Grant*). Although the numbers had slipped slightly from the 1980-81 season, this was still a respectable showing, given the competition of ABC's *Monday Night Football* and the decline in network shares across the board. But from February 15 (just after Asner's Washington press conference) through May 3, *Lou Grant*'s ratings slid to an average of 14.0, with an average audience share of 23.8.

This slippage was duly noted at CBS Entertainment headquarters in Los Angeles. Indeed, top programming executives had talked about dropping the show a year earlier, although its 1980-81 share was identical to its 1979-80 share, and it had actually ranked higher (twenty-eighth as against thirty-third) for the season. Most of the executives now wanted to "clean house" by dumping marginal shows, including the sitcom *The Two of Us* as well as *WKRP* and *Lou Grant*. In normal network practice there are distinct advantages to bringing a new show onto the schedule rather than retaining an old one. For one thing, as Arnold Becker says, the sales department can sometimes sell an unknown better than a known but marginal quantity. For another, there are what Becker calls "internal political considerations": development executives are more likely to improve their relative standing by scheduling a new show than by rolling over a show they had no hand in. "There's also," Becker adds, "a very real advantage that if you happen to get a hit, you can keep it for many years."

One West Coast CBS programming executive spoke to me on the condition he not be identified, and I will call him Mr. X. "We thought: Paley's probably going to force us to keep *Lou Grant*," said Mr. X. It was, after all, a prestige show, and the network liked to have one on the schedule to deflect criticism and to impress the impressionable critics. Paley of CBS and the Museum of Modern Art is known to have a taste for the higher things; Ethel Winant, a former casting executive at CBS, speaks of "Mr. Paley's attacks of culture." And although Paley is known for participating in the scheduling meetings as an interlocutor, not as a dictator, the company is still, as more than one executive puts it, "Mr. Paley's candy store."

On Monday, May 3, *Lou Grant* aired "Unthinkable," the first television series episode, if memory serves, ever to dramatize the possibility of nuclear war. Some thought it fact-clogged, stiff, preachy; others, among whom I number myself, thought it powerful, plausible, terrifying. For whatever reasons, "Unthinkable" drew the lowest numbers in the five-year history of *Lou Grant*: a 10.9 rating, 19 share. It was "thrashed," in the words of *Lou Grant* co-creator and executive consultant Allan Burns, by a rerun of TV's censored bloopers, which scored a 37 share. That 19 share, in Arnold Becker's words, "did not help."

The scheduling meetings took place directly thereafter. Paley went down the schedule and asked why each show should be renewed. "No one could arouse that much enthusiasm for *Lou Grant*," says Mr. X. "It was very preachy and self-congratulatory. 'Why should we keep it on?' Paley kept asking. We kept falling back on the fact that it was well-made, well-acted, well-written most of the time; it had won lots of awards. But it had gotten dull; it was not very interesting to watch. What it had going for it was that it was different. Finally Paley said, 'If you have so little enthusiasm, why are you pushing it?'

"We figured," Mr. X continues, "let's put a new show on. After a show's been on this number of years, you can predict it won't regain its audience." Arnold Becker notes, "I think it's fair to say that the best we could expect would be another marginal year. There was no chance of turning it around." No one bothered to argue that the *entire* CBS Monday night schedule was down from the previous year: *House Calls*, *Lou Grant*'s lead-in, was down by more points than *Lou Grant*, and *M*A*S*H* was down by almost as much. *Lou Grant* had gained relative to its lead-in: the sort of calculation that often weighs heavily with programming execs. No matter, says Mr. X. "*Lou Grant* had peaked in

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popularity." The schedulers did talk about ordering thirteen shows, a half-season's worth. "That was seen as an oblique way of canceling," says Mr. X. "We'd see how the first three did. If ratings were bad, we'd cut the order to seven. It would have been more cowardly, or diplomatic, depending on your point of view. Critics would have congratulated us for trying. But as Sartre would say, it would have been bad faith."

Instead, the schedulers settled on *Cagney and Lacey*, a series about two female police officers, as a replacement. In three outings this spring, it ranked below *Lou Grant*; its ratings soared only during the one week it was moved to Sunday night, in the popular *Trapper John, M.D.* time period. "*Cagney and Lacey* was in a very tough time period," says Mr. X. "But it was an intuitive hunch. We felt the concept was sufficiently appealing that, with proper stories, it would work. It's not scientific; it's intuitive. Next season it could get a 15 share, and we'll look like dummies." CBS liked *Cagney and Lacey* well enough to renew it, but was sufficiently dissatisfied to press for major changes. The producer acquiesced by bringing in a new co-star to soften the show's hard edge.

Such tinkering with new shows is routine. Indeed, a few weeks into *Lou Grant*'s weak first season, according to Allan Burns, CBS executive Harvey Shephard said to the producers, "Fellas, fellas, what you're giving us is *The New York Times*, and what people read is *The Daily News*." "Ed is a loser. He's not heroic enough," Burns recalls an executive saying. "They wanted Kojak," Burns adds. In 1982, Shephard is head of CBS prime-time programming; Grant Tinker, who toughed it out for *Lou Grant* as head of The MTM Production Company, is now chairman of NBC and thus unable to place his great salesmanship at the service of the show; and Asner, if not Lou Grant, is perhaps a mite too heroic for network taste—and perhaps the taste of a fair share of the American viewing public.

No one knows why *Lou Grant*'s ratings slipped significantly from February 15 on. Network executives tend to believe that the country, in the throes of depression, wants strictly escapist entertainment; that is why next year's schedules sport three variations of the *Raiders of the Lost Ark* formula. Allan Burns is inclined to agree: "If I had a pilot that had a lot to do with content, I'd be concerned right now." Burns thinks that some part of the audience turned off *Lou Grant* because of Asner's identification with left-wing causes. But Asner says of the ratings slump: "It's a fluke." On May 31, a *Lou Grant* rerun bounced back to a 26.5 share. The numbers don't speak for themselves.

All that can be said for sure is that a single rating point's difference, sustained over the course of an entire year, is worth some $68 million at 1981 advertising rates. The sound of television is the twang of the bottom line, and when the show is marginal and the numbers ambiguous, it's easy for actual and anticipated advertiser pressure to make the difference. Had it not been for Asner's conspicuous politics, the show's prestige would probably have compensated for the drop in ratings, and it would likely have been renewed.

I asked Tinker for his reaction. "I was very surprised," he said, adding that if he had been at CBS, "I would have kept it because it was worthwhile. It was a flagship show." NBC, however, after much agonizing, decided not to take *Lou Grant*. "We made a judgment that it was a little tired," Tinker told me. In any case NBC, which picked up *Taxi* after ABC canceled it, doesn't want to get a reputation as the network that always buys rejected goods. Did Tinker think there was anything involved at CBS besides the usual numbers game? "I don't know. Were there to be, I would guess you and I would never know. It would be such an inner-sanctum matter."

This uncertainty is itself daunting. Even before *Lou Grant* was canceled, the word was out that the networks were buying fewer TV movies charged with controversy; now, producers thinking about political themes will be further discouraged. A leaflet circulated at CBS News headquarters has decried the cancellation, questioning the network explanation and hoping "that the News Division will speak out in the tradition of Ed Murrow, and not succumb to the current fashion of getting along by going along."

Whatever the complexity of CBS's motives, if Asner's career suffers, the cancellation may well be read as a warning to other performers to guard their tongues. Already there is a chill amid the Hollywood palms. Even actors who signed pro-Asner advertisements in the trade papers did not join the anticancellation picket lines organized by the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California outside CBS headquarters. Most ominously, just days after the cancellation, when the writer of a new series pilot proposed Asner for a regular role, the production company, one of the majors, flatly rejected him—because Asner was "a liability."

Asner is not panicking. He has been sounded out informally about playing Jacobo Timerman in a TV movie being written for NBC by Budd Schulberg, one of the very few potentially controversial pieces under network development now, and he has been offered two Broadway plays. No film offers have been forthcoming, but Asner points out that the movie business is in the doldrums; a few months will tell if anything more sinister is afoot. "If there is going to be a blacklist," he says, "it's got to be a hell of a lot more subtle than it used to be."

In the meantime, there are actors and crews out of work in a badly depressed industry. As Asner and I talked in his office on the CBS lot, one of the crew dropped in to say hello and goodbye. He was off, he said, to start striking the set. When he left, a somber Asner said, "That hurts. Since this happened, it's always been in the back of my mind that maybe there was a last chance to save the show. But no, that's childish." But both the sentiment and the hope for last-minute reversal were very much in keeping with the spirit of *Lou Grant*, which was the first television series to defy formula on occasion by refusing to tie up loose ends. Issues emerged that *The Trib* could not set right. The uncertain story of the cancellation of a TV series would have been right up *The Trib*'s alley. □

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THE STORY TV COULDN'T TELL

The Vietnam Numbers Game

FRANCES FITZGERALD

One of the strangest press events in recent weeks was the appearance of a *TV Guide* cover story entitled "Anatomy of a Smear: How CBS Broke the Rules and 'Got' Gen. Westmoreland." The piece concerned a *CBS Reports* documentary aired in January called "The Uncounted Enemy: A Vietnam Deception," an investigative report by producer George Crile and reporter Mike Wallace presenting evidence that Gen. William Westmoreland and others in the American military establishment had suppressed information about the size of the enemy forces during the crucial year before the 1968 Tet offensive. The program had an extremely small audience and stirred almost no controversy. Indeed, the only real reaction came from those directly concerned: Lt. Gen. Daniel Graham, head of military intelligence in Vietnam in 1967; Walt Rostow, President Johnson's national security adviser; George Carver, head of the Vietnam task force at the Central Intelligence Agency; and General Westmoreland himself.

So the *TV Guide* story is something of a mystery. *TV Guide* is not known for its investigative journalism, nor for its interest in four-month-old documentaries with poor ratings. The mystery is in no way solved by the content of the piece, for while *TV Guide*'s reporters criticize some of the procedures used by CBS, they profess agnosticism about the truth of the charges made against General Westmoreland. Thus by their own admission they fail to prove that the show was a "smear." (One of the reporters later told *The Washington Post* that he did not completely trust Westmoreland: "Some of the stuff he told us was factually wrong. Whether he was lying or just forgetful I don't know.")

One clue to the purpose of the *TV Guide* piece lies in its conclusion: that the network news divisions are not keeping their own houses in order and that "'safeguards' for fairness and accuracy need tightening, if not wholesale revision." Given the insubstantiality of the article (most of the criticisms are trivial and some contradictory), this conclusion is in the nature of a leap of faith. It is, however, the same conclusion drawn by the owner of *TV Guide*, Walter H. Annenberg, in an editorial he wrote in the magazine's May 15 issue. The difference between the two pieces is simply that while Annenberg's editorial was a defense of his good friend Ronald Reagan, the May 29 cover story was a defense of his good friend William Westmoreland.

The CBS documentary was in fact a major investigative effort and an important addition to the still-unwritten history of the Vietnam War. The subsequent attempts at rebuttal by Westmoreland, Rostow and Carver have, if anything, strengthened the story and added a few interesting details. Unfortunately, the broadcast contained its own leap of faith: the strong suggestion that Westmoreland kept the facts from President Johnson as well as from Congress and the American public. This assertion is not documented and can be true only in the most limited way. To generalize such a charge is to put the evidence in the wrong context. Whatever the video generation may believe, television is not the best medium for certain kinds of history. For this reason the story contained in the broadcast is worth examining here.

The first part concerns the estimates of guerrilla strength in 1967. In the spring of that year, the C.I.A. and the U.S. Military Assistance Command, Vietnam (MACV) were engaged in a dispute over the number of Viet Cong guerrillas that U.S. troops were facing in South Vietnam. The dispute was complicated because there were many categories of guerrillas—main force units, provincial units, administrative cadre, political cadre and so on—and because at the base were people who did not fit the usual military/civilian dichotomy. This was "people's war." The discrepancy between the C.I.A. and MACV figures was, however, extremely large, so large in fact that the two organizations seemed to be talking about different countries: the MACV figure was about 285,000, the C.I.A. figure some 200,000 more. The dispute should have been central to the debate over the war, but it was not, even when it became public knowledge in mid-1975. The reason for this was that the number of American troops sent to Vietnam depended not on estimates of enemy strength but on estimates of American public opinion.

In April 1967 Westmoreland was called back to Washington to help Johnson with his political battle to win over the Congress, the press and the people. Westmoreland was not happy with the assignment but he performed it loyally, presenting a picture of steadfast optimism. In private, however, he told Johnson the war could go on for five years unless the Ho Chi Minh trail was cut, and to do that he needed up to 665,000 troops and permission to invade Laos, Cambodia and North Vietnam. (*The Pentagon Papers* reports this but the CBS broadcast did not. At the press conference after the broadcast, Westmoreland claimed to have told Johnson that the war could go on "indefinitely.")

The CBS program revealed that while Westmoreland was in Washington, his MACV intelligence officers in Saigon were analyzing documents captured in two big American operations (Cedar Falls and Junction City). From these documents they discovered that guerrilla strength was far greater in all categories than they had previously estimated—indeed, it was probably as large as the C.I.A. maintained it was. Furthermore, even though American troops were killing thousands of guerrillas, enemy strength seemed to be increasing rather than decreasing. Westmoreland's chief intelligence officer, Gen. Joseph

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McChristian, told CBS: "I was constantly showing that the enemy strength was increasing . . .that the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong had the capability and the will to continue a protracted war of attrition at the same level of operations that were currently going on for an indefinite period."

The official MACV figures, however, never showed these new estimates. The figures released to the press at the time and the figures that still form the historical record of the war remained close to the original figure of 285,000. In the interview with Wallace, Westmoreland admitted that he had refused to accept the new estimates for "political reasons." What political reasons? Wallace asked. Well, said Westmoreland, "Because the people in Washington were not sophisticated enough to understand and evaluate this thing, and neither was the media."

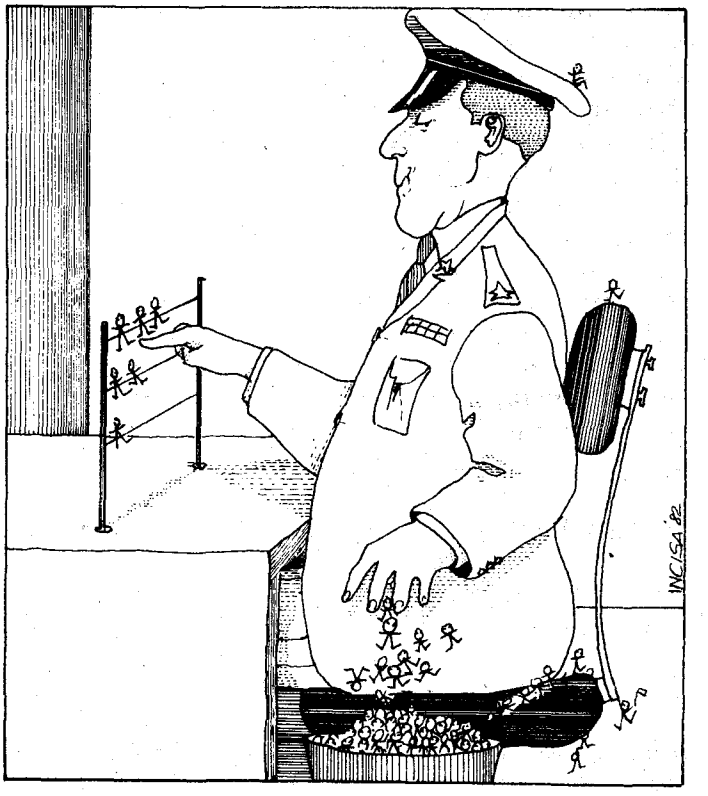
General McChristian left Saigon in mid-1967, his tour of duty over, and his successor, Col. Daniel Graham, proved as sensitive as Westmoreland to the "political reasons." But still the lower-level intelligence officers kept coming up with unacceptably high estimates of enemy strength. Westmoreland's first solution was to drop an entire category of guerrillas—the village "self-defense forces"—from the Order of Battle, thus reducing "enemy strength" by more than 70,000 with one stroke of the pen. Westmoreland explained this act of creative accounting to Wallace by saying that the self-defense forces were really a lot of women and children with "no offensive capability." But MACV had carried this category on its books since 1961, the village forces continued to inflict casualties on American troops, and the American field command continued to count those forces in its defector and killed-in-action totals. As a second step, later on, MACV decided to reduce the number of guerrillas in all categories.

The C.I.A. insisted on its own totals, and what ensued—as the CBS show documented—was a battle royal between MACV and the C.I.A. at the National Intelligence Estimate Board in Langley, Virginia. But then some months later the C.I.A. capitulated and agreed both to eliminate the self-defense forces from its calculations and to accept the new MACV bottom-line figure of 240,000 guerrillas.

Just who was responsible for the C.I.A. capitulation is even now not completely clear. At the press conference after the broadcast, George Carver took personal responsibility for the decision, explaining away the long dispute as a matter of honest disagreement over a complicated issue. In a memorandum to Crile after the broadcast, however, Walt Rostow maintained that it was he who had pushed the two agencies to reconcile their figures. Actually the two statements need not be contradictory, especially since Carver was in close contact with Rostow in 1967. The common-sense deduction to be made from them is that Carver and Rostow (as well as Westmoreland and others) were protecting the President, who strongly preferred that the official figure not show an increase in enemy strength. After the Tet offensive, George Carver reopened the C.I.A.-MACV debate and argued for restoring the self-defense forces category. As he pointed out in a memorandum at the time, large numbers of uncounted guerrillas were being included in the killed-in-action totals, and it was his view that many of the guerrillas who had attacked Saigon were among those uncounted by MACV.

The second part of the CBS story concerns the infiltration rate estimated in the fall of 1967—that is, the number of North Vietnamese troops estimated to be coming down the Ho Chi Minh trail in the months prior to the Tet offensive. The official MACV reports show that the infiltration rate did not go above 8,000 troops a month in 1967, climbing to 20,000 only in January 1968. But five MACV intelligence officers interviewed by CBS testified they were reporting that the infiltration rate was over 25,000 every month of that fall. When questioned by Wallace, Westmoreland confirmed their account: "I would say that it was in the magnitude of about 20,000 a month . . . in the fall and [it] continued." When Wallace reminded him that he had given an estimate of 5,500 to 6,000 on *Meet the Press* in November 1967, Westmoreland said that he must have misspoken.

After the Wallace interview but before the show was aired, Westmoreland sent Wallace and Crile a letter reasserting what he had said on *Meet the Press* and offering the official MACV records, which showed a rate of 5,500 to 6,000, as proof. (It is lucky that Westmoreland did not check with his own command's account of the war, written in late 1968, for there he would have found an infiltration rate of 4,000 for those months.) The *TV Guide* reporters criticized Wallace and Crile for not mentioning Westmoreland's letter on the show, but they must have figured out that the infiltration rate had almost certainly been much higher than the official figures showed.



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The evidence for this lies not merely in the memory of the five intelligence officers but in the fact that there were six North Vietnamese divisions below the demilitarized zone before the Tet offensive. Large North Vietnamese units had attacked Loc Ninh, Con Thien and Dak To in the fall, and by early January there were two divisions threatening Khe Sanh. In his memorandum to Crile, Rostow wrote: "What was happening in the autumn of 1967 was not an 'increase in infiltration,' it was a quite massive invasion of South Vietnam by fresh, regular North Vietnamese units."

At the press conference after the broadcast, George Carver did not deny the 20,000-plus figure. He claimed rather that there had been a lag in the reporting system and that the command might not have had the figures at the time. But this does not explain why the official MACV records were never updated, nor does it explain why C.I.A. director Richard Helms and Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara gave Congress a 7,000-a-month estimate in January 1968. Also, it stands in sharp contrast to Rostow's recollection. According to Rostow, the North Vietnamese units "were followed closely by intercept material (that came directly to the White House) from the time they left their North Vietnamese bases, down the Ho Chi Minh trails in Laos until they moved across the borders of South Vietnam and engaged. . . . The 'infiltration rate' may well have been higher for a few months than 25,000. Everyone concerned, including President Johnson, knew this. That is why we set up a model of Khe Sanh at the White House."

So on both counts, the MACV records were cooked, and Westmoreland, as commander of U.S. forces, was responsible for cooking them. That is the hard fact contained in the CBS broadcast. But there is an important question behind that fact: who were the real figures kept from?

Quite clearly they were kept from Congress, the press and the public. But what about the White House? Anyone who knew Johnson would find it hard to imagine that Westmoreland could have kept anything from him that he really wanted to know. However, the Pentagon papers, as printed in *The New York Times*, tell us that Johnson spent much of 1967 discounting the "negative analyses" of the C.I.A. and the systems analysts at the Pentagon, while listening to Westmoreland's optimistic reports. Possibly, Johnson's system for encouraging optimism succeeded all too well between September and December 1967—it backed up on him. Here Carver, Rostow and Westmoreland should get their stories straight.

Beyond that, however, there is the question of what effect the estimates doctored at MACV had on the intelligence system and on U.S. military operations in Vietnam. Many intelligence analysts in Washington and many field commanders in Vietnam had a system of double bookkeeping—hardly the most efficient way to assemble information and one which on occasion must have broken down. The officer who drew up the estimates of the enemy's strength for the Joint Chiefs of Staff recently claimed he had never heard of the higher infiltration rate before Tet. A C.I.A. analyst interviewed on the show claimed he would have been able to predict the real dimensions of the Tet offensive if he had had the correct figures.

As William F. Buckley has pointed out, the CBS broadcast dealt a great blow to the popular notion that the military could have won the war if only they had been allowed to get on with it. This was the achievement of the show. Television is capable of such grand gestures, but it is not really capable of sorting out the operations of a highly complex system in which everyone's motives are mixed. That is the inescapable fact that *TV Guide* could not admit. □

BEYOND 'NO FIRST USE'

What the Peace Movement Really Means

MARY KALDOR

In the Spring issue of *Foreign Affairs*, four eminent members of the American establishment—Robert McNamara, George Kennan, McGeorge Bundy and Gerard Smith—made their widely publicized proposal for a "nō-first-use" nuclear strategy for NATO [see editorial, "Now They Tell Us," *The Nation*, April 24]. In the past, Western strategy has been based on the assumption that the Soviet Union enjoys a massive superiority in conventional weapons in Europe and that it is deterred from conventional aggression by the knowledge that NATO might respond with nuclear weapons. The no-first-use proposal, which is also gaining wide support in influential circles in Europe, is thus viewed as a radical departure from past policies. It was roundly attacked by Alexander Haig the day before it was announced and has probably received as much attention as President Reagan's START proposals. The peace movement in both the United States and Europe should congratulate itself for having initiated this reappraisal of NATO strategy.

There is much to be welcomed in the article. The four Eminent Members of the Establishment (hereinafter known as E.M.E.s) make it clear that they totally oppose the idea of limited nuclear war and that they believe any use of nuclear weapons would inevitably escalate. In a subsequent radio interview, McNamara stated categorically: "There is no way to win a nuclear war. Nuclear weapons have no military purpose other than deterrence." The four E.M.E.s also say that the Soviet threat to Europe has been exaggerated. The "risk of conventional aggression," they say, "has never been as great as prophets of doom have claimed," and they note the "tendency over many years to

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exaggerate the relative conventional strength of the USSR and to underestimate Soviet awareness of the enormous costs and risks of any form of aggression against NATO." The E.M.E.s also are clearly distressed by the rapidly growing profusion of nuclear weapons systems.

Nevertheless, despite these reassuring signs of remorse from four participants in the nuclear arms buildup, it is not at all clear whether the no-first-use proposal *really* represents a radical change or whether it is anything more than a gesture to placate the peace movement. The E.M.E.s do not propose *any* reductions in nuclear weapons. They express the hope that future stockpiling of such weapons will be less massive, but they believe that "large, varied and survivable nuclear forces will still be necessary for nuclear deterrence." They think it is "doubtful" whether it would be "necessary or desirable to deploy neutron bombs," and they propose "an examination of the ways in which the concept of early use of nuclear weapons may have been built into existing forces, tactics, and general military expectations." Some of their European counterparts—Field Marshal Lord Carver, for instance—go much further and advocate the removal of all short-range nuclear weapons, i.e., munitions for artillery and tactical aircraft, atomic demolition mines and short-range missiles.

The E.M.E.s do not commit themselves on the U.S. decision to deploy cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in Europe, except to point out, in McNamara's words, that the policy would "reduce divisive debate" about the issue of so-called modernization. Nor do they propose any *political* change in the relationship between Western Europe and the United States. On the contrary, their aim is to strengthen NATO. They emphasize the importance of maintaining and improving the conventional forces in Europe (although they are sensibly skeptical about whether this could be accomplished without increases in military spending) and of preserving the current psychological relationship between West Germany and America, based on both the nuclear guarantee and the American conventional commitment. Yet *without* major reductions in nuclear weapons and political change in the Atlantic relationship, it is doubtful, in my view, that a no-first-use policy would amount to much more than a pious, not necessarily sincere, statement of intent.

The purpose of the no-first-use proposal, according to the E.M.E.s, is to allay fears about limited nuclear war and so increase the cohesion of the Western alliance. But as it stands, there is no a priori reason why the proposal should allay such fears. At present, there are two concepts of limited nuclear war. One is the military concept that a nuclear war could be limited to the use of particular categories (or levels) of nuclear weapons—i.e., tactical (short-range battlefield), theater (long-range weapons based in or aimed at Europe) or strategic (long-range weapons launched from superpower territory or from submarines). The other is the geographical concept that a nuclear war could be limited to a particular region, namely Europe. Neither of these concepts is incompatible with the no-first-use doctrine.

Instead of the theory of "escalation dominance," which says that the United States must be one step ahead at every level of fighting or in every category of weapons, one can envisage a deterrence strategy which would hold that deterrence must operate at every level and hence in every category of weapons. Actually, this strategy already applies in the case of chemical weapons, where a no-first-use agreement was established as long ago as 1925. Such a concept of deterrence rests on the assumption that the limited use of nuclear weapons would *not* inevitably escalate—or, at least, that the other side believes this to be the case. Otherwise, there would be absolutely no reason to reject the idea of "minimum" deterrence—confining deterrent forces to a small number of relatively invulnerable strategic nuclear weapons.

The same argument applies to the geographical concept of limited nuclear war. The only case that can be made for keeping American nuclear weapons in Europe is that the United States might be more willing to use such weapons than strategic weapons, since the use of nuclear weapons based in Europe would not necessarily affect the territory of the United States. European proponents of "Euro-strategic," or theater, nuclear weapons insist that the argument is just the other way around: because limited nuclear war would inevitably escalate, the presence of these weapons enhances deterrence. But this is a wonderful psychological sleight of hand. For if limited nuclear war inevitably escalates, as I certainly believe it would, and if the planners in Washington and Moscow believe that it should, there can be *no* strategic case for basing nuclear weapons in Europe. The United States would be no more willing to use such weapons than strategic weapons, and the Soviet Union would be no more deterred by them. It is sometimes argued that the Soviet Union might believe the United States was more willing to use nuclear

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weapons (even though this might not be the case), and hence they would enhance deterrence. But what about European public opinion—might not the European in the street share the Soviet suspicions? Deterrence strategy cannot escape the paradoxical element of limited nuclear war in either a military or a geographical sense without the removal of *all* nuclear weapons (both tactical and theater) from Europe. Only a minimum deterrence strategy can allay fears of a militarily limited war. And only the denuclearization of Europe can allay fears of a geographically limited nuclear war.

But there is another, even more important, aspect to this argument. In assuming that fear is the underlying cause of the new peace movement, the four E.M.E.s have, I believe, missed the point. Fear is not a good tool for mobilizing opinion. On the contrary, it can be convincingly argued that it was fear, as much as anything else, that suppressed the debate about nuclear weapons for the past fifteen or twenty years. Rather, the new movement stems from an awareness not just of the dangers of nuclear war but of the political possibilities for action, at least in Europe. The sense within the movement of political emancipation is not even recognized by the E.M.E.s. For many people in the peace movement, nuclear weapons epitomize the forms of political power that prevail in our society. It was the knowledge that decisions about the acquisition and use of weapons were made by one or two politicians in the White House or 10 Downing Street that was so enraging. If a small number of politicians control whether we live or die, what does democracy mean? In what sense can we be said to control our lives, our political and economic environment?

In Britain, it was the knowledge that a small number of Labor ministers secretly decided to modernize the Polaris warheads (*against* the wishes of most Labor Party members as expressed in party conferences and indeed in the 1974 election manifesto) that, more than anything else, triggered the campaign for political accountability and for the growth of unilateralism within the party. Their decision seemed to symbolize all the political betrayals of the last thirty years. It was the feeling of exclusion from politics and the frustrations of grass-roots party members and single-issue campaigners that activated the peace movement.

The sense of emancipation was not only domestic; it was also international. It was related to a growing awareness of European identity. The members of the generation that dominates the peace movement are in their 30s and 40s. They do not feel the same gratitude and loyalty to the liberators of 1945 as their elders; they feel it is time for Europe to assume political responsibility. The significance of European nationalism, for good or for ill, should not be underestimated. France is the only country in Western Europe that does not have a mass peace movement. It is likely that this is because nuclear weapons are associated with French independence and not dependence and because the new Socialist government seems to offer greater opportunities for political participation. (When the disillusionment sets in, the peace movement may grow.) In Britain, opinion polls show that a substantial majority of the population favors the removal of foreign nuclear bases, although there is not a majority opposed to Britain independently developing nuclear weapons. Throughout Europe, opinion polls show that a surprisingly high proportion of the population favors the option of neutralism (almost half in the case of Britain). For the peace movement, the idea of a Europe free of military blocs and free from the artificial division of the continent—seen to have been imposed by the superpowers—is at least as important as the demand for denuclearization.

The bloc system and the tendency to incorporate all international conflicts (whether in Europe or in the Third World) into the East-West controversy is regarded as the major cause and/or justification of the arms race and, consequently, as a cause of war. It is significant that the four E.M.E.s were members of the Kennedy Administration, that happy era of Atlantic interdependence when a liberal trading economy, a mutual security system, the free movement of multinational corporations and a sound dollar all worked in concert to produce peace, of a kind, and material well-being. Today, it is precisely the representatives of that era, whether in the United States or in Europe (where some of them, like Helmut Schmidt, remain in power), who are under attack. On one side, the Reaganites are seen to be using the alliance as a tool for pursuing parochial American economic and political interests instead of common Atlantic interests. On the other side, there is a growing belief that only by detaching themselves from the United States will the Western European countries gain the independence to adopt the kinds of policies necessary to overcome the problems of trade warfare, monetary instability, economic decline, ecological degradation, individual alienation and the like that characterize the 1980s.

The debates about nuclear weapons are as much symptoms as causes of the growing divisions within the Atlantic alliance. The four E.M.E.s point out that there were always differences within the alliance about nuclear strategy and that it was "mutual political confidence" rather than "plausible nuclear war fighting plans" that held the alliance together in the 1950s and 1960s. It is this mutual political confidence that is now lacking, and no amount of new nuclear strategies can restore it.

There is a certain parallel with what happens in the East, although this should not be exaggerated. In the West, nuclear weapons have been the symbol of the Atlantic relationship. Possessed, for the most part, by the United States and accepted in Europe, they have stood for a certain political orientation—an Atlanticism that, in Europe, has both an international and a domestic connotation. Debates about nuclear weapons are thus also debates about politics. In Western Europe, people are free to carry their politics into the streets and into the media—nevertheless, there are certain limits. These limits were evident in Greece in 1967

COMING UP

"To the Poland Station: Lest We Forget Solidarity," by Daniel Singer.

"Their Bible Is the Bible: The Religious Roots of Revolution in El Salvador," by Clifford Krauss.

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and they are evident in Turkey at present. The idea that NATO protects freedom rather than, as many see it, Atlantic hegemony is regarded as somewhat shallow in the case of Turkey. Here is a country ruled by a military regime more savage than Poland's, where the leaders of the peace movement are all in jail and where torture and arbitrary arrest are widespread, which continues to receive military aid from NATO countries. Indeed, such aid is being stepped up so that Turkey can become a base for the Rapid Deployment Force, which will be used for military interventions in Third World countries.

In the East, of course, Soviet hegemony is directly and brutally maintained through a military presence. The events of December 13 in Poland were mourned throughout the Western peace movement because Solidarity was identified as part of the same phenomenon—a yearning for political emancipation, for the possibility of greater independence for Europe. Many members of the peace movement fear that a reassertion of Atlanticism could provide more justification for Soviet repression in Eastern Europe.

In the long run, I do not believe that NATO can contain these growing aspirations in Europe. Indeed, efforts to *increase* the cohesion of the alliance, in the West as well as in the East, in the face of growing political and economic challenges could be very dangerous—stimulating a reciprocal process of arms buildup, cold war rhetoric and underlying instability. On the other hand, if a no-first-use policy was seen as a way of *de-emphasizing* the role of nuclear weapons in NATO and hence loosening the relationship between the United States and Western Europe, this might help to initiate a very different kind of reciprocal process, one that could eventually lead to the detachment of both halves of Europe from the superpowers.

It is in Europe that a start could be made in lessening the risks of the East-West controversy and, hence, in reducing the pressure for rearmament. The four E.M.E.s simply have not addressed the political nature of the demand for a nuclear-free Europe. They dismiss the demand, somewhat fatuously, with the argument that SS-20s based in the Soviet Union could still hit Western Europe. Leaving aside the question of whether SS-20s would be deterred by U.S. strategic forces and the E.M.E.s' own argument that a conventional defense of Western Europe would provide a more effective deterrent because it is more credible than a suicide threat, the point is that the demand for a nuclear-free Europe is not an arms-control proposal. (If it were, there would be a much more extensive discussion about the removal of either sea- or land-based nuclear weapons designed for use in or against Europe or about negative guarantees from the superpowers.) Rather, it is a demand to refuse the so-called protection offered by nuclear weapons.

It is a demand which is likely to be achieved through a long process, of which a Western no-first-use policy could play a valuable part, along with, for example, the declaration of local, national and regional nuclear-free zones. It is a demand for changing political relations in Europe so that Europe is no longer the stage—the "theater," as it is often called—of the East-West controversy. □

Neoliberalism

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

seminars out at the mansion in McLean. Ever alert to such "popular" upheavals, the national press celebrates the movement in countless feature stories, thought pieces and personality profiles. Left-leaning journalists with strong ties to a handful of liberal internationalist foundations and prestigious graduate schools of law or politics exuberantly promote its "radical" potential. With popular revulsion to the Reagan Administration's policies mounting daily, and the party's midterm convention scheduled for later this month in Philadelphia, it is clear that neoliberalism, already a rallying point for Democratic elites, is about to emerge as a major force in national public life.

This newest cloud on America's dark political horizon does not come bereft of all traces of a silver lining. Given the powerful political forces that still bulwark the Reagan Administration, and the increasingly desperate position of the ordinary American, only the kind of clout that Felix Rohatyn, Michael Blumenthal or Lloyd Cutler (to pick three familiar multinational faces prominent among the "new" Democratic ranks) can command is likely to make any serious dent in Reaganism. Those who have no resources may accordingly cheer on the battle now waged by those who do. But if, for the nonce, the citizenry's vital interest in the rapid retirement of Bonzo's old friend to an old age home (with Social Security pension intact) converges with that of Rohatyn, Blumenthal & Co., such identity of goals will not always be the case.

Ordinary Americans can scarcely afford any more peace promises that lead to war, tax reform that is merely business tax reduction or further geometric increases in the rate of "acceptable" unemployment. Unless it is blankly prepared to accept America's conversion into another banana republic, the working population would do well to consider carefully the origins and implications of the invitation now proffered by select business elites to join them in this latest "Alliance for Progress."

In its basic anatomy, neoliberalism is merely a Darwinian variant of its more robust ancestor, old liberalism, which flourished during the period of High Cold War under Kennedy and Johnson. In those days, the nature of the informal hierarchy that structured the Democratic Party and most of the Federal government was so obvious that only the American mass media failed to notice it.

At the center of the party was a small but powerful bloc of multinational businessmen and international financiers.

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Represented in the Cabinet by such luminaries as Douglas Dillon and Robert McNamara, dominating the unofficial clusterings around the President and overrepresented on the commissions, task forces and executive committees that proliferated during those years, this group was defined by its overriding commitment to free trade and liberal foreign policy objectives. The multinationalists exerted influence far out of proportion to their numbers. Densely interlocked on the boards of all the major media and the most important foundations and think tanks, they naturally drew an endless number of journalists, academics and other publicists into their field of force. Their vast resources also enabled them to patronize select leaders of consumer, community and minority groups.

Less centrally located in the Democratic firmament but still within the party elite were the leaders of organized labor. Often moribund, occasionally corrupt and almost always ineffective, they lost power throughout the 1960s. While the salaries of union presidents spiraled upward, the unionized percentage of the work force steadily declined. Only the expansion of union power within the burgeoning public sector saved the A.F.L.-C.I.O. from open disaster.

So long as an expanding economy yielded sufficient revenues, the political program this coalition pursued was almost irresistible. Multinational firms got trade liberalization and tax cuts, and were the primary beneficiaries of the soaring military and foreign aid budgets necessary to "defend" Vietnam, destabilize Cuba and the rest of the Caribbean, and shore up authoritarian anti-Communist regimes around the globe. Along with private foundations, the Federal government directly subsidized the mobilization of community and minority groups and the poor. Social welfare spending rose dramatically. Despite routine retraction of election year promises to labor and studied unwillingness to relieve the loss of union jobs to foreign competition in a regime of ever freer trade, union leaders were awarded shares of party patronage and some measure of respect.

This smoothly functioning machine gradually broke down, of course, under the cumulative pressures of intensified world economic competition, the collapse of the international monetary order, global inflation, soaring imports, growing trade deficits, urban riots, student rebellion and the long agony of Vietnam. By the end of the 1960s, the United States had lost the global military and economic hegemony it had exercised for more than a generation, and the postwar boom that had fueled industrial growth in the West was finally coming to an end. During the 1970s—as two gigantic recessions and persistent stagflationist pressures made clear—economic growth in the advanced industrial states became highly variable and uncertain. In the context of economic decline and lagging American power, competition between the United States and traditional allies in Western Europe and Japan both intensified and became more difficult to manage.

Combined with the impact of the OPEC cartel, these developments radically transformed relations between the First and Third Worlds. Declining profits in the industrialized West made expanding Third World (and Southern European) economies more attractive for investment. In addition, the OPEC nations emerged as important markets not only for investments but for all kinds of exports. Their large cash flows also made them major depositors in international banks. As the banks recycled oil revenues to public and private borrowers throughout the Third World, a whole new level of global "interdependence" was achieved.

A fearful price tag was attached to the West's growing involvement in these regions, however. For all the potentially lucrative business opportunities they offered, Third World states were also notoriously unstable. Especially as OPEC price rises squeezed the public sectors and the lower classes of many of these countries, the likelihood of coups and abrupt reversals in regime alliances increased. With continuously heightening competition among industrial powers, it was inevitable that in countries with a large stake in the Third World, an expanded ability to project military force into the developing regions, to shore up client regimes, guarantee debt payment or directly defend investments became a top priority of "national security." In Britain and France, but particularly in the United States (which had the largest Third World stake of all and historically performed military functions for other advanced industrial states like Japan and West Germany), the development of extensive interventionist military capacities accelerated. Even though most of the ensuing buildup went to conventional forces (such as the Rapid Deployment Force or the related expansion of naval power), it was equally inevitable that, in the United States, this arms buildup was legitimated by reference to the "Soviet" threat.

Even in the best of times, such heavy increases in military spending would have disrupted the civilian economy. But in the stagflationist American environment of the late 1970s, with social expenditures continuing their inexorable rise (fed, of course, by mounting unemployment, bankruptcies and economic dislocation), the military demand directly threatened other state commitments. Unless the government was willing, which it was not, to inflate the money supply infinitely, thus accelerating the dollar's depreciation abroad, or to raise taxes (something that depressed businesses and even more depressed individuals would sorely resist), a massive budgetary crisis would, and finally did, result.

Finally complicating this picture were mounting protectionist pressures at home. Growing exponentially throughout the decade, these emanated primarily from domestic industries that could not compete internationally, or from those, like independent oil, that otherwise benefit from restrictions on the flow of trade; and from labor unions, which derived much of their membership from industries threatened by international competition and for whom the idealized notion of "interdependence" meant jobs lost to Western European, Japanese or Third World production lines and sweatshops.

Forced to choose between guns and butter, and increasingly beset by business demands for tax reductions, the

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United States and other nations began to experience what elites defined as a "crisis of democracy." As in other periods of domestic economic unrest (such as the years of Republican ascendancy after 1896), a variety of suggestions for closing off political participation to the public began to be heard. They ranged from rules changes within the Democratic Party and benign neglect of steadily declining voter turnout to proposals that the United States emulate Mexico by instituting a single six-year Presidential term.

Such were the circumstances that attended Jimmy Carter's rise to power: global tensions, domestic economic decline, pressure for militarization, pressure for protectionism, pressure for popular disenfranchisement. They were also the circumstances that expelled him from office, and they remain important limitations on the ambitions of the neoliberals. For if the turmoil within the Reagan Administration over trade, taxation, exchange rates, monetary policy, the Middle East, China, relations with NATO allies, defense spending, arms limitations talks and even social policy suggests that deepening tensions within the world political economy are in the long run likely to wreak as much havoc within Republican ranks as among the Democrats, in the short run, as was clear from the 1980 election, they immensely advantaged the G.O.P. Because his party had both a sizable mass base and powerful multinational business elites, Jimmy Carter was forced both to support the military and trade demands of his business constituency and to remain at least nominally committed to principles of social welfare. By constantly temporizing, he satisfied neither group, and soon became the favorite candidate of no one. By contrast, the Republicans—who have historically featured a powerful nationalist-protectionist bloc within their party, never pretended to be accountable to working people and the poor, and are devoted, in the unapologetic words of David Stockman, to the principle that "the government does not owe anybody anything"—found it easy to promote military spending and tax cuts. The sorry state of the economy under Carter, along with one of the lowest voter turnouts in modern U.S. history, helped put this package across.

But as the economy continues to stagnate, trade battles intensify and ionospheric interest rates curb inflation but blunt the prospect of recovery, public discontent with Reagan increases daily, as does opposition from the business community. In the Congressional elections this fall, and again in 1984, the Democrats stand to profit mightily from this misery. But if future Democratic victories are not to be merely the latest unstable careenings of a confused (and increasingly demobilized) electorate, the Democrats must capitalize on their current opportunity by finding a way out of the budget dilemma faced by Carter.

In theory, of course, this could be done by designing a fundamentally democratic program aimed at popular control of the economy, full employment and drastic increases in levels of political participation. But for such a program to succeed, a major upheaval and a mass democratic movement from below would be required. In the meantime, the Democrats are applying themselves to more conventional, albeit still difficult, tasks.

To retain both their mass and their elite constituencies, the Democrats must somehow find a way, in the context of economic decline, to finance guns and butter (or, if not butter, at least margarine). They must develop more finely drawn and cost-effective strategies of militarism, and persuade enough voters that such strategies are vital to the "national" interest. They must make free trade palatable to millions of workers in industries threatened by international competition. And they must lower domestic expectations of social welfare and employment without totally extinguishing the broad voter support acquired with the legacy of the New Deal. These are the issues neoliberalism has been fashioned to address. In doing so, it walks a familiar tightrope, now stretched to the breaking point, between unredeemable domestic promises and overwhelming international economic commitments.

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Of course, any attempt to isolate a set of distinct neoliberal beliefs inevitably courts serious misunderstanding. Tactical political considerations and the time-honored American disdain for systematic political thought make it most unlikely that anything like a Neoliberal Manifesto will ever be issued. The absence of an organized democratic challenge from below virtually obviates, as well, the need to detail public policy proposals. And it is obvious that broad agreement on the desirability of lowering domestic expectations somewhere short of their complete extinction and a preference for less expensive forms of Third World intervention will always leave plenty of room for debate over details—whether the United States should spend a few billion dollars on a contemporary equivalent of the old 1930s Reconstruction Finance Corporation, for example, or whether Japanese imports now so threaten the American industrial base that temporary protection should prudently be conceded to some critical industries in the hope of forestalling the rise of a more sweeping national protectionist bloc.

Adding to these difficulties is the current transition state of the Democratic Party. While one's overriding impression is of leopards trying to change their spots, the zoo that is now the Democratic Party in fact houses all sorts of creatures, including aging lions from the New Deal, unreconstructed tigers from the cold war and specially bred social democratic mice, as well as an increasing number of strange and exotic Beasts With No Name (multinationally oriented businessmen whose doubts about Reaganomics are even now leading them beyond neoliberalism into weak "indicative" national economic planning). Within this menagerie, however, a clear central tendency is at least temporarily emerging. And while any number of politicians and theorists might with varying degrees of plausibility be identified with the movement, perhaps the best single representative of its contradictory tensions is Colorado Senator Gary Hart.

The self-proclaimed candidate of a "campaign of ideas," who first came to the Senate on the nebulous appeal of youth to power ("They've had their turn; now it's our turn"), Hart's record in representing his predominantly Republican and increasingly high-tech state almost perfectly reflects the modal neoliberal mix of multinational militarism and fiscal austerity. An outspoken proponent of the nuclear freeze and military "reform," Hart missed votes on delaying production of the MX missile and banning aid to Nicaragua, and opposed a 1980 measure aimed at shifting outlays from defense to social programs; but he supported the rollback of OSHA inspections, the deregulation of oil and natural gas prices, and the buildup of naval power. It says much about his record on labor issues that his 1980 A.F.L.-C.I.O. Committee on Political Education approval rating was just 47 percent—not only less than half of the 100 percent rating of more traditional liberals like Teddy Kennedy but also slightly lower than the rating given him by the fiscally conservative National Taxpayers Union.

Preparatory to the Philadelphia midterm convention, Hart has recently released "An Economic Strategy for the 1980's." The document repays close attention, for it approximates as well as anything else now on the market the likely electoral appeals neoliberalism will be making in the coming years.

Hart begins by noting that in economic policy, "while the world changes around us, we remain mired in an irrelevant debate about the wrong issues." What should be clearly understood as the foundation for sensible economic policy, he says, are two great changes: the shift within the United States from basic manufacturing to high-tech industry and services, and the decline of U.S. international power. As Hart describes the latter, "We are no longer self-sufficient, nor do we control the world economy; new actors on the world stage influence American economic conditions to a degree well beyond what we have experienced in recent times." As a result, he argues, "traditional policies are producing unintended consequences," and are "increasingly irrelevant to the unique economic realities of this decade." So far so good, but what follows this sound and fury is only a limp recasting of the quite traditional, and quite disastrous, Democratic policies of the recent past.

Reflecting the free-trade orientation of elite Democrats, Hart strongly supports lowering barriers to the free flow of goods and capital across national boundaries. He calls for continued progress in reducing General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade barriers, celebrates the benefits of international competition and insists on the need to boost U.S. exports. He also proposes the formation of export trading companies backed by the government as well as other financial support for a vigorous export drive by American firms, claiming that such actions would redound to the benefit of the working population as a whole. This is, quite simply, not true. Without a serious government commitment to the employment of the millions of American workers who will be displaced in coming years and whose displacement will be accelerated by the intensified global competition Hart endorses, open trade promises disaster at home. But Hart does not suggest direct government provision of full employment, preferring to let international and domestic labor markets take their "natural" course.

More broadly, Hart fails to consider the collective irrationality that would certainly result if other countries adopted his proposed strategy of aggressive export drives. During a period of sagging domestic markets and growing protectionist pressures virtually everywhere in the world, it is utterly impossible for every nation to improve its economic position by exporting aggressively to every other. If, in the context of weakening international markets, the United States attempts to claim pride of place, it will surely provoke retaliation from other major powers, further international economic instability and, quite possibly, war.

Hart does not address any of these problems directly in his "Economic Strategy," but military themes are an insistent undercurrent throughout the paper, often providing (in a classically obfuscatory argument) putatively independent models for the formation of economic policy. He notes, for example, that "we cannot expect to dominate the world economically—the way we did 30 years ago—any more

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than we can expect to dominate it militarily," but suggests that "just as our military debate must move away from questions of quantity to questions of quality, our economic debate must also be redefined." It is clear too from his involvement in discussions centering on the buildup of Third World expeditionary forces and naval power that Hart is well aware of the potential costs of unbridled multinationalism. (When last heard from in one of the many "debates" that underscore the major areas of agreement among neoliberals, Hart was urging U.S. investment in massive numbers of small, fast, light and expendable ships, concentrating on the development of a quick-strike "shoreline capability" at the probable expense of some larger surface vessels.) Hart may be prepared to pay such costs. Others may not.

Once one abandons all prospect of controlling, through the state, the impact of international economic movement, the outlines of domestic economic policy become clear, for then all that can be done at home is to encourage domestic business investment. This, effectively, is the sum of Hart's domestic economic program. Such investment would be assured, in Hart's view, through the adoption of a consumption tax on personal income (to encourage savings over spending) and general tax relief for corporations. The first is seen as necessary to develop sufficient stores of capital, the second to entice business to put its money into the United States. Hart specifies in some detail the reduction of the already declining corporate income tax and proposes a full expensing of corporate investment. He also urges the abolition of all capital gains tax on the first resale of a new class of stock, to be called New Capacity Stock, which he suggests be created and used for financing research and development and the purchase of new plants and equipment. Such a system, Hart argues, would be more equitable than the present nominally progressive income tax and would more directly stimulate domestic investment than what he derides as the "giveaways" of the Reagan tax law of 1981.

But Hart's document provides little reason to believe these claims. While a consumption tax could in theory be made equitable, Hart notably fails to indicate a progression schedule in his proposal and thereby removes all basis for intelligent judgment. It is clear that his tax, like other consumption taxes, would leave accumulated wealth untouched. Like the current system, it would also probably fail to reach many transactions abroad, where rich Americans earn and spend an increasing amount of their money.

Nor is it apparent how the sharp reduction in corporate tax liability Hart suggests would create greater incentives to corporate investment than the notorious failure of the Reagan plan. Hart does not couple investment expensing with high taxes on profits not invested in the United States, for example, which would create clear incentives for domestic investment. He makes no suggestions for controlling the flow of investment abroad. And in a document virtually obsessed with internationalist themes, he fails to discuss those provisions of the current tax code that, by providing favorable treatment for foreign investment, effectively stimulate the drain of funds from the United States. Under Hart's strategy, the operation of the firm, the consumption of profits and the making of private investment decisions in a global market are all left untouched. Most of the burdens and risks of domestic accumulation are shifted onto the working population.

Hart's other domestic economic initiatives are equally unpromising. He suggests the creation of a nationwide computer bank for job placement and endorses piecemeal measures for finding jobs for the chronically unemployed in low-wage industries. The first would only be a bad joke under a set of policies that will barely permit an enlarging market for dishwashers, while the second is hardly an adequate response to the massive dislocations that would attend the adoption of his trade package. He argues somewhat obliquely for energy price deregulation and the imposition of an oil import fee to encourage conservation, but unless they are coupled with some measure of real economic planning, such moves would only intensify the regional wars that now plague the United States and hasten the abandonment of the industrial core.

To stimulate and protect corporations in this environment, Hart tentatively endorses Felix Rohatyn's proposal for a revived Reconstruction Finance Corporation, but he places most of his emphasis on establishing state-based "Venture Development Centers" to spur the formation of new businesses by providing seed money and technical expertise to entrepreneurs. Such centers are a nearly perfect neoliberal construct, appearing to be both an innovative, market-oriented use of public funds and a resonant gesture toward the localism so threatened by a multinational world. In fact the proposal, a variant on the timeworn theme of government assistance to small business, would in implementation be either trivial or malign. At best it would merely ratify the tremendous disparities in wealth and growth that separate states like Hart's Colorado from disaster areas like Ohio and Michigan. At (the more probable) worst, it would exacerbate the already suicidal competition between states that now lure business investment by chopping the local taxes and regulations necessary to social welfare.

Finally, while Hart's paper is specifically addressed to economic policy, it reveals as well certain assumptions about the nature of democratic process and political interest articulation. It is striking that in all his calls for government initiatives in the economy, for example, Hart fails to specify any mechanisms of accountability, and thus would likely continue, as other neoliberals explicitly propose, the generations-long removal of key economic decision making from traditional democratic arenas. A substitute of sorts for mass democratic process is offered in his and other neoliberals' carpings about "economic democracy," but as Hart uses this newly protean term, it has nothing to do with either strengthened worker representation or public control over investments but with the integration of workers into the traditional goal structure of individual firms. Under this label he endorses tax write-offs for employee profit-sharing plans, urges that "employees and firms find new ways to

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work cooperatively on the problems of structural change, productivity, and job satisfaction," and argues for the adoption of "self-managed work teams, labor-management steering committees in union shops, and problem-solving groups—such as the 'quality circles' used in Japan." But he fails to point out that for such schemes to be more than part of the latest round of "scientific" management techniques, workers must have effective and powerful organizations of their own.

There is nothing in Hart's proposals on economic democracy about the decline of unionism and how it might be reversed, nor about how to insure the representation of workers within those unions that remain. But surely he knows that in the peculiarities of the U.S. system, workers do not benefit from the protections found in Western European and other legal systems and are quite literally powerless against employers in the absence of formal, state-recognized modes of representation. One can only wonder upon what basis the labor-management "cooperation" Hart calls for might rest during a period of steadily declining union power. Equally, Hart calls for broad democratic renewal in America but takes no note of the drastic deterioration in levels of participation in politics or of the consequences that have followed on the decline of virtually all non-business-dominated institutions of public life.

This is as it should be, however—for neoliberalism, to the extent that it is a coherent ideology at all, directly relies for its implementation on precisely that erosion of labor strength and the deterioration and decay of the basic institutions of American democracy. In this, Hart's speculations show the characteristics of the movement as a whole: a deep and finally paralyzing ambivalence toward the workings of the market; an easy identification of global economic interests with "national security"; and a single-minded conviction that the game of international economic competition should be played according to rules laid down by private actors.

Thus, in an increasingly barren political landscape, neoliberalism makes minimal and passive adjustments to a drastically altered world. For all its bright promises of creative renewal, it signals no departure from the policies of the immediate past. It benefits politically from the misery that now pervades the population, but can offer little in relief. It may indeed triumph. But even as it advertises itself as the only viable alternative to the present disaster, this latest problem of Democratic renewal should be recognized for what it is: Reaganism with a human face. □

Central America

(*Continued From Page 771*)

recommended that the House Foreign Affairs Committee turn down the Administration's renewed aid request. "They're still killing a hell of a lot of people in the countryside," said one member of the delegation. In May the Guatemalan Committee for Peasant Unity, one of the largest opposition federations in the country, blamed the army for 3,000 killings since the coup last March.

■ As the guerrilla wars elsewhere in Central America drag on, trouble appears to be mounting for the Sandinist regime in Nicaragua. Former guerrilla commander Eden Pastora (Commander Zero) vowed in April in San José, Costa Rica, to "expel [the nine Sandinist commanders] with bullets." In early June, Pastora announced from Portugal the blueprint for a government in exile and his intent to overthrow the present Nicaraguan regime. He has accused its leaders of "betraying the Sandinist ideals," "subordinating themselves to Soviet imperialism" and "failing to solve the people's problems."

Pastora has sought to avoid links with Nicaraguan counterrevolutionary groups based in Honduras and Miami, and instead hopes to rally Nicaraguan citizens and Sandinist cadre opposed to the policies of the current government. So far, however, only a handful of Nicaraguan officials, most of whom fought under Pastora in the war to overthrow Somoza, have joined their former commander in exile. Meanwhile, leaders of the various counterrevolutionary armies composed of former Nicaraguan National Guardsmen have announced Pastora's "imminent integration" into their movement.

More likely allies for Pastora's government in exile are the political opponents of the Sandinist regime, including former junta member Alfonso Robelo, president of the Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (M.D.N.). Pastora and Robelo have engaged in frequent talks, and their mutual frustration with the Sandinist National Liberation Front (F.S.L.N.) leadership may soon lead to direct collaboration. On May 26, junta member Daniel Ortega announced the confiscation of Robelo's properties, including a hacienda and a cooking oil factory, in ostensible retaliation for his opposition activities abroad.

Political dissidents in Nicaragua have found their room for maneuvering increasingly limited, not only because of the government-imposed state of emergency but also because of press leaks in the United States alleging C.I.A. funding of "moderate opponents" of the Sandinists. Last March opposition political leaders and businessmen led by Robelo presented the Nicaraguan government with a comprehensive "peace proposal" advocating negotiations in several Central American countries, talks between the United States and Nicaragua, and internationally sponsored negotiations between the Nicaraguan government and the opposition. The F.S.L.N. rejected the proposal, a move not unrelated to the reports of covert U.S. support for dissidents in Nicaragua.

To offset the political damage to their cause as a result of such revelations, opposition leaders have launched a vigorous campaign to denounce covert action. At a recent conference in Washington, Alvaro Jerez, vice president of the M.D.N., attacked the C.I.A. plans as "totally antidemocratic and condemnable," adding that they gave the F.S.L.N. "the perfect excuse to justify repression, radicalization, and . . . their leaning toward the Soviet bloc." Jerez stated that the M.D.N., now in exile, would "devise other methods to continue our struggle against the increasingly totalitarian regime."

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Imaginary Indians

ROBERT F. SAYRE

THE VANISHING RACE AND OTHER ILLUSIONS: Photographs of Indians by Edward S. Curtis. *By Christopher M. Lyman. Pantheon Books. 159 pp. $14.95.*

No pictures of American Indians have been so popular in the last fifteen years as the photographs of Edward S. Curtis. In the late 1960s, hippies made Curtis a cult. Museums and libraries began to exhibit his pictures. His twenty-volume life-work, *The North American Indian*, unsold at $3,500 a set when it was finally finished in 1930, was reprinted. Portraits like "A Zuni Governor," showing an intense man in fur robe, long hair and headband, were turned into handsome posters. And dozens of books, including Hyemeyohsts Storm's novel *Seven Arrows*, popularized yet more of Curtis's hauntingly beautiful, sepia-toned photographs. Not even George Catlin is currently so well known.

And yet there are qualities in Curtis's work that have always seemed suspicious. The sepia ink (dubbed "Curtint") and the vaguely Pre-Raphaelite titles ("Homeward," "Passing a Dreaded Point") seem affected. Other titles, such as "On the War-Path" and "The Morning Attack," are blatantly anachronistic for pictures taken about 1910. That his financial patron was J. P. Morgan also gives some people pause. And anyone who stops to read Curtis's text will be further offended. ("In the Apsaroke is seen the highest development of the primitive American hunter and warrior. Physically these people were among the finest specimens of their race.") Now Christopher Lyman has cast more doubt on Curtis's reliability.

In the nineteenth-century debates over whether photography was a creative art or just a mechanical—if stunningly accurate—reproduction of nature, Curtis was most often among those who wished to use it artistically. As a young studio photographer in Seattle in the 1890s, he liked to dress sitters in exotic costumes, posing a black woman as "A Desert Queen" and the wife of a judge as "The Egyptian." At the same time, his outdoor photographs of clam diggers on Puget Sound, for example, used dramatic cloud effects, glittering water and stark silhouettes to make their subjects look like elemental peasants.

But Curtis was also willing to promote his photography as documentary, especially when it served his own ambitions. In 1899 he photographed landscapes and geological formations on E. H. Harriman's lavishly supported natural-history survey of Alaska, a position which gave him entree to upper-class society because the expedition was also a private vacation for the Harriman family. In 1905, building on his contacts with prominent Eastern authorities on the West, Curtis obtained the endorsement of Theodore Roosevelt for a proposed photographic study of North American Indians. It would be, wrote Roosevelt in a letter, "a monument to American constructive scholarship and research," and this commendation led to $75,000 worth of backing from J. P. Morgan.

"Constructed" might have been a better word than "constructive," however. As Lyman shows, Curtis used every trick of the camera and the darkroom to fabricate and confirm a very nostalgic (as well as non-Indian) image of Indians. Just as with "A Desert Queen" and "The Egyptian," he dressed his subjects in necklaces, cloaks and headdresses (some of which he must have carried with him, since different men and women appear in the same costumes). He framed and focused his shots so as to exclude or blur modern backgrounds. Next, he or his assistants cropped and retouched. The famous picture of two men sitting "In a Piegan Lodge" originally included a large metal object between them that looked like an alarm clock. This was scratched away. "Typical Apache," a full-length portrait, was cropped to eliminate the edges of the black backdrop and make the man loom before the viewer. In another picture, "Pima Water Girl," work was done on the negative so as to transform a scrubby irrigation ditch into a tranquil pond. Other techniques were used to make skies dark and dramatic, as in "Crying to the Spirits" and "The Vanishing Race—Navaho."

Curtis sometimes bribed and cajoled Indians into selling him sacred objects and performing secret rites. One of the most amusing anecdotes Lyman tells is of Curtis spending day after day sitting with three Navajos on the second floor of a reservation trading post, preparatory to taking stills and movies of the Night Chant. The Indians had agreed to perform on the condition that Curtis make the costumes! When the dances began, the Indians did them backward—without telling him.

Lyman is not the first person to point out such ironies in Curtis's career. It has long been known that Curtis took time off from his serious ethnographic work to make a potboiler film about the Kwakiutl, *In the Land of the Headhunters*. T.C. McLuhan, whose book *Touch the Earth* (1971) helped popularize Curtis's photographs, went on to make the sobering documentary film *Shadowcatchers*, which portrayed him as adhering fanatically to illusions. She also showed that his family, health and business were sacrificed to his lust for his work, a lust which confused quantity with quality. Unable to understand any tribe or people, he imposed his own savagist views on all of them.

To his credit, Lyman exposes Curtis's art without adopting the tone of an angry or disillusioned iconoclast. He reminds us instead that the celebration of Curtis in the 1970s proves that his illusions are still widespread. In trying to re-create what anthropologists call the "ethnographic present" (the styles of a people during the time when their culture is most interesting to another culture), Curtis romanticized and immortalized an image of "the Indian" that many still accept.

The weakness of this book lies in its crudely applied distinction between documentary and artistic photography. True, the distinction did exist for Curtis and his contemporaries. But as William Stott has shown in *Documentary Expression and Thirties America*, it was always arbitrary, and photographers and writers never held rigidly to one side or another. Even when they said they were doing one, they were often silently employing the techniques of the other. Not

Robert F. Sayre teaches at the University of Iowa. He is the author of Thoreau and the American Indians *(Princeton).*

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until nearly the last page does Lyman say that "the existence of objective reality is an *a priori* concept . . . I would assert that shared subjective perceptions are what have historically passed for objectivity." His analysis of Curtis, as well as his comments on early-twentieth-century attitudes toward Indians, might have been a lot subtler had he started from this point rather than ended with it.

Lyman also overlooks certain of Curtis's distortions and limitations of vision. One is simply his choice of subjects. Over and over again, he took pictures of tribal elders, pictures in which they wore the expressions of dignified defeat and stoical recollection of better days that he thought members of a "vanishing race" ought to wear. His next most common sitters were young girls, usually modeling traditional robes, jewelry and hairdos. Like anyone brought up on stories of Pocahontas, Curtis liked to see—or fabricate—the sweet composure of "Indian maids" and "maidens." Pictures of boys and young men are few, perhaps because there was no placid stereotype for them. Neither sex shows anger, dissipation or bitterness. Also missing in his photographs are humor, love, playfulness, laughter, excitement. Emotions like these were not in Curtis's visual vocabulary.

Nevertheless, his pictures do cast their spells on us, as Curtis clearly wanted them to. As Lyman says, he loved photographing the Crow and other plains people so that the viewer looks up to them as strong and monumental. He liked to portray shamans as if they were in contact with spirits, and solitary men or women posing pensively beside rivers, as if reflecting on the passing of time. For that is another part of Curtis's message: vanished glory and the irreversibility of change.

The very fact that the people in these pictures are frozen in an unreal past that was neither the time at which Curtis took them (from about 1905 to 1930) nor the remote past that he tried to recapture but a combination of both is another source of their power. Each time is somehow framed and seen through the other. But we have to realize that Curtis created this double vision inside his own skull, the darkroom of his imagination. The dignified, stoical and composed faces represent the way Curtis thought American Indians should look at American history.

No wonder, then, that as Vine Deloria Jr. writes in his introduction, to Indian people today Curtis is a sort of sublime nuisance. At the beginning of the Curtis revival, Deloria says, some Indians "saw in the Curtis pictures an opportunity to universalize the nobility and wisdom suggested there and claim it as a natural, sometimes even a genetic Indian trait." But recently the photographs have come to seem "harmful to the cause," a point he illustrates by mentioning his frustration when "a prominent senator [shoved] a book of Curtis pictures over his desk at me with the remark that he 'knew a great deal about Indians.'"

Lyman's book, whose hardcover edition has been published by the Smithsonian Institution Press in conjunction with a Smithsonian traveling exhibit, gives us a chance to see how dated and artificial, albeit powerful, Curtis's work was. Its amazing technical skill should be acknowledged. But we must also see and even smell its musty nostalgia. It is not only nostalgic now; it has always been so. It is the nostalgia of sixty years ago. Yes, it came back to life only a few years ago, reborn with the primitivist romanticism of the 1960s, but thanks to the research of Christopher Lyman, we should never again be so uncritical of it. □

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Comic Grotesque

GERALD JAY GOLDBERG

TAKE FIVE. *By D. Keith Mano. Doubleday and Company. 583 pp. $17.95.*

Take Five gives us Simon Van Lynxx, a large man with large appetites whose zestiness erupts from time to time in a rumbling jig, a shuffle, a flamenco fling. Simon, an award-winning director of short subjects, is obsessed by his desire to become rich and famous. He loses on both counts. And that isn't all he loses. In the course of this long novel in five sections, paginated in reverse, D. Keith Mano's hero sheds his senses one by one, like baby teeth, until, finally, he himself disappears. Are we sorry to see him go? Well . . . yes and no.

Like Nathanael West's Lemuel Pitkin, another great twentieth-century loser, Simon is dismantled by life. He is the last of the Van Lynxxes, who trace their American roots back to the seventeenth century. The old family manor house in Queens has been turned into a museum by the Landmarks Preservation Commission, and Simon now lives a peripatetic existence in a large van bearing the name "Lynxx Productions, Mobile Unit #1." There is no #2. Also aboard are the merry pranksters—one cinematographer, one hairdresser, two middle-aged sisters from Westchester and a pale, stuttering teenage gofer named Robert, who regards Simon as nothing short of Erich von Stroheim.

While hatching wild schemes to make *Jesus 2001,* which he is absolutely convinced will be his big breakthrough movie, Simon works as a short-order cook, falls in love with a cleric named Merry Allen and digs holes throughout the city to calm himself. He has reason to be nervous. Mistaking gasoline for salad oil, he turns his mouth into a blowtorch, searing off his tastebuds. His sense of smell is drugged out of him in Part IV, a mugging does away with touch in Part III, and whatever sensory apparatus he has left disappears in the remaining two sections. Even his precious van is ultimately taken from him. Not surprisingly, such lugubrious goings-on raise a dark thought or two about the vanity of human wishes.

Nevertheless, 27-year-old Simon can be amusing. Part *tummler* and part con man, he is always on stage, his costumes ranging from African diplomat to gorilla, from Latin lover to M.D. Apparently, you've got to have a gimmick if you want to make the grade in the movie business. "Be yourself," says Simon, "and they'll bury you next t' the Unknown Hooker." Many of his deceptions are designed to be profitable: decked out as black Sledge Simpson, for example, Simon attempts to put the squeeze on the National Artists Minor-

Gerald Jay Goldberg's most recent novel is Heart Payments *(Viking).*

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ity Incentive Fund for money to make his film. But others can be explained only by his love of high jinks, and, alas for poor Simon, dissimulation gets out of control. "Even naked," Merry complains to him, "you seem to be in costume."

It is, ironically, as a figure of farce that Simon is most ingratiating. This outsize, hulking, shameless clown, with his size eighteen-triple-E desires and a tongue to match, is excess personified. He eats like Gulliver among the Lilliputians; he bleeds like a Romanov. Appealing by telephone to the famous film producer Herman Wolff, Simon flagrantly woos him long distance by leaping atop a desk to click Andalusian sparks from his heels.

Although on the surface *Take Five* seems playful enough, there is something joyless going on underneath. Mano's novel in its excesses is reminiscent of the Watts Towers, Sam Rodia's swollen, obsessive constructions of old beer caps, Milk of Magnesia bottles and cement. Attempting to justify his verbal excesses, Simon compares words to Weimar marks: they have "not much purchasing power left." Even if his rush of language could be explained as another of his elaborate disguises, the sheer glut of his words eventually comes to seem labored. In their remorseless unedited frequency, the jokes sour and the puns go bad. Stretched to the breaking point, the humor, too, disappears.

Mano has written a novel about the movies that keeps well clear of Hollywood. Instead, the movies are evoked by references to Arriflexes and Auricons, to Moviolas and Macs, to Bergman and Disney and Welles, to *National Velvet* and *Citizen Kane*. Structurally, too, this novel draws on the movies. Its concluding scene—the wedding of Simon and Merry—is the fictional equivalent of final credits, with the assembled cast of characters passing in front of the camera lens for one last farewell.

This cinematic material works well as background, for whatever else *Take Five* may be, it is a *Künstlerroman*, a portrait of the artist as movie director. The foreground of the novel, however, poses a problem. How seriously does Mano mean us to take the artistry of Simon Lynxx? "Herman Wolff—*the* Herman Wolff," exclaims the awed doctor who examines Simon, "is convinced that you're a genius." But the principal evidence that we have to support such assertions is *Lucky*, the screen treatment that Simon develops after jettisoning his plans for *Jesus 2001*. *Lucky*, which is included in its entirety, is a melodramatic tear-jerker that even the hero-worshiping Robert calls "a piece of shit." What at first looked to be a serious portrait of the artist turns out to be a contemporary cartoon of the WASP as outsider in a polyglot, ethnic, brave new world.

Readers of *Take Five* are likely to come away remembering the good puns, the droll images (a moray eel with *payess*, for instance), some funny scenes and, above all, the hero's breathless energy. What they'll want to forget are the novel's hyperventilating excesses and the appalling values of its main character. Sexist, racist, bigot and bully, with an ego the size of Quasimodo's hump, Simon Lynxx is a comic grotesque. His totally unmerited salvation in the coda may well reflect the author's sincere belief in the existence of divine love. Esthetically and morally, however, it's a non sequitur. □

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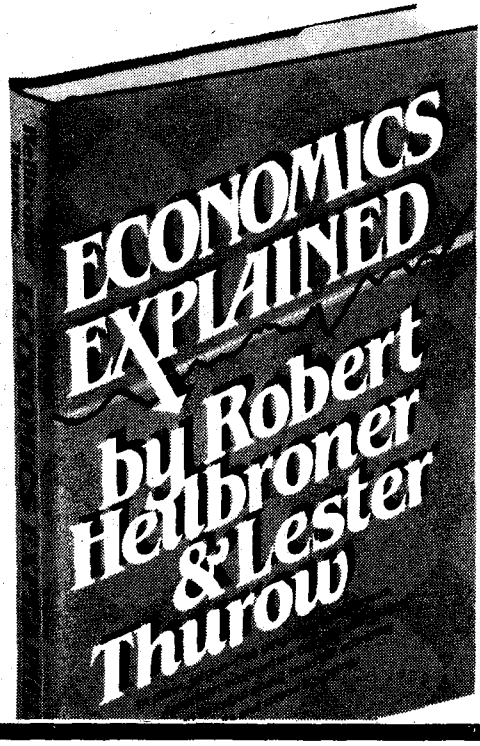

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Dead-End Kid

ALICE DENHAM

BAD GUY. *By Rosalyn Drexler. E. P. Dutton. 180 pp. $11.95.*

The psychopathology of killers confounds and fascinates those of us who are not. The gap between murderous feelings and murder is at once real, instantly crossable in the age of the gun, and unacceptable. In *Bad Guy*, her sixth novel, Rosalyn Drexler explores the troubled mind of 15-year-old Jesus Allendez, who robs, rapes and kills an elderly neighbor with her own gun.

Drexler is an exotic taste. As admirers of her previous novels (*I am the Beautiful Stranger, To Smithereens*) already know, audacity is her stock in trade. *Bad Guy* ripples with surprise. It's a turbulent sea of impressions, characters and surmises about society, yet for all its quirky hilarity it's also a convincing story of hapless poverty.

In *Bad Guy*, Dr. Mathilda Brody treats Jesus, an affectless sociopath who reminds her of Mickey Mouse and who believes Superman is real. An unconventional therapist, Brody banishes her boyfriend and takes Jesus into her home so she can be "alone with my work." When Brody says casually to the victim's daughter, whom she also treats, "It's a war zone out there," we know we're in New York City today. This bold and complex setup allows Drexler to probe the limits of motivation, of therapy, of family and environment and responsibility; indeed, the limits of our perceptions of one another and of ourselves.

"Jesus he bring the dead back to life; I kill 'em," brags Jesus, who learned English from TV while his parents worked, whose first words were "Bang! Bang!," who cannot tell reality from fantasy and fears Superman is after him for the murder, who's always angry, and who blames his mother for her poverty and his stepfather's beatings. Jesus videotapes a confession in the third person, "like telling a story," in which he refuses to admit that he committed the rape. Finally, Brody breaks through his denial, and Jesus responds to a picture card by confessing: "Maybe he feel he went too far without meanin' to." But in a shadow play he writes for puppets, one character says, "I just the avenger who passin' through," as he kills another, who says she's too foxy for him. Jesus ends his play with: "Why do fools fall in love? And why do the rest of us don't?"

Brody is a veritable cornucopia of psychiatric theories. "The sick mind that committed her murder can be parted like the Red Sea and crossed," she insists, as she tries everything from orthodox Freudianism to simple love to connect the shards of Jesus's identity. The complex relationship between the two is developed skillfully, but we don't know enough about her, except that she *is* her work, as she says, which is why she likes her gay, impotent boyfriend, Harry—he doesn't interrupt it.

Suspense builds as Brody begins to trust Jesus and to think of him as a son, even as his attempts at sexual intimacy increase and he begins to display toward her the same rage and blame he shows his mother. Brody's guard dog is found dead, they are alone, and she has to tell him he must return to prison and leave her cozy home and affectionate focus. We await his outburst with trepidation, and it comes.

You'll empathize with Jesus as Brody does because Drexler's characterization is remarkable: she *knows* Jesus. Jesus, in fact, is the only character Drexler treats realistically and without sarcasm, perhaps because he is exaggeration itself. She moves from real situation to satirical overview, from drama to farce. For example, Brody wishes Harry a

Alice Denham, author of Amo, *(Coward, McCann & Geoghegan) and* My Darling From The Lions *(Bobbs-Merrill), is completing her third novel for the third time.*

THE OUTER BAR

When through some lacuna, chink or interstice
of the unlicensed free-for-all that goes
on without halt out there all day, all night,
all through the winter,

one morning at low tide you walk dry-shod across
a shadow isthmus to the outer bar,
you find yourself, once over, sinking at every step
into a luscious mess—

a vegetation of unbarbered, virgin, foot-thick
velvet, the air you breathe an aromatic
thicket, odors in confusion starting up
at every step like partridges

or schools of fishes, an element you swim through
as to an unplanned, headily illicit
interview. The light out there, gashed
by the surf's scimitar,

is blinding, a rebuke—Go back! Go back!—
behind the silhouetted shipwreck (Whose?
When did it happen? Back in the village
nobody can tell you),

the bell buoy hunkering knee-deep in foam,
a blood-red-painted harbinger. How strange
a rim, back where you came from,
of familiar portents

reviewed from this *isola bella*, paradise
inside a prison rockpile—the unravished
protégé of guardians so lawless, refuge
moated up in such a shambles!

Your mind keeps turning back to look at them—
chain-gang archangels that in their prismatic
frenzy fall, gall and gash the daylight
out there, all through the winter.

Amy Clampitt

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good time with a call girl; the victim's weeping daughter admits she hated her mother; the mother, a pioneering dancer, advised people to "abandon their real estate for a season ticket to the dance theater"; the daughter's elderly suitor puts gold glitter on his liver spots for an evening of discoing; Harry, an art museum curator, knows when something's good because "I get nauseous."

Outrageous juxtapositions occur throughout. The doctor empathizes far more with the murderer than with the victim's daughter; toward the end, we discover why. Every relationship fractures and jars. Though I have reservations about the ending, which struck me as contrived, Drexler is one of the few writers who successfully combine violence and humor, which she does by escalating actions to the absurd, by surreal exaggeration that is deft and believable because it never quite loses touch with reality.

This technique enables Drexler to explore the nature of criminal accountability and insanity, to show the impact of horror and love and indifference, of alienation accepted as a cozy joke in the war zone of the modern city. *Bad Guy* combines wisdom with off-the-wall farce in an original view of teen-age murder. Rosalyn Drexler is a maverick. Brava, Roz. Don't ever go straight. □

Anti-Nuclear Pulp

DAVID CORN

FREEZE! HOW YOU CAN PREVENT NUCLEAR WAR. *By Senator Edward M. Kennedy and Senator Mark O. Hatfield. Bantam Books. 267 pp. $3.50.*

It is no secret that the nuclear weapons freeze movement caught most of our pundits, publishers and politicians by surprise. The campaign, already nearly two years old, was "discovered" this spring, and then the find was treated as big news. Big enough, in fact, for Bantam Books to issue Senators Edward Kennedy and Mark Hatfield's primer on nuclear war, *Freeze! How You Can Prevent Nuclear War*, as a quickie in the tradition of the mass-market paperbacks that followed Jonestown, the crisis in Iran and Pope John Paul II's visit to the United States. The Senators were given a two-week deadline so that the first 200,000 copies could be distributed at the start of Ground Zero week in April. One might ask how two busy lawmakers could put together a book so swiftly—a question their staffs could probably answer.

Although *Freeze!* is an adequate compilation of old standards—the effects of a one-megaton bomb exploding over a major American city, testimony of Hiroshima survivors, the medical consequences of nuclear war—it is primarily an argument for the Kennedy-Hatfield resolution, which calls for a "mutual and verifiable freeze on the testing, production, and further deployment of nuclear warheads, missiles, and other delivery systems." This is a noble measure deserving the fullest support, but one cannot help seeing it—and the book—as a vehicle for the political aspirations of the authors. The freeze movement has an enthusiastic and growing constituency that so far lacks any national leaders. It is certainly not inconceivable that Kennedy or Hatfield—both of whom have strongly advocated arms control—would like to assume a leadership role.

Whatever its authors' ambitions, *Freeze!* argues well against the arms race and in favor of a verifiable bilateral freeze. It is not nearly as eloquent as Jonathan Schell's plea for sanity, *The Fate of the Earth*. In fact, *Freeze!* relies on movement clichés—the living will envy the dead, etc.—and awkward metaphors: "Like sulphur coating a matchstick, the layering of nuclear technology on top of other disputes could erupt in a nuclear war any time Americans and Soviets rub each other the wrong way." Although it does set out the facts, the book relies heavily on studies, reports and testimony that have already received attention. But for those not yet initiated into the ranks, *Freeze!* presents a reasonable introduction, including some useful suggestions for citizen action.

While a freeze on nuclear weapons is the first step and a reduction the logical follow-up, the United States must also re-evaluate the notion of national security—and here the Senators fall short. Conspicuous by its absence is any discussion of U.S. foreign policy. In explaining

David Corn, a freelance writer living in New York, often writes on nuclear issues.

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why the Reagan Administration opposes the freeze, Kennedy and Hatfield state, "The administration opposes it because of the false notion that America is behind in nuclear weapons." Far from being the reason, this "false notion" is the rationale used by Reagan and others who cannot accept present geopolitical realities and want to revive the role of the United States as corporate capitalism's global enforcer. Also missing is an attack on those who support the arms race. Names are not named—there is no mention of the arms lobby, for instance.

Although a strong case can be made for linking the freeze to unemployment among blacks, the fighting in El Salvador and other political, economic and social issues, the disarmament movement's immediate task is to unite people behind the freeze. The Kennedy and Hatfield effort is a step in that direction, but there are larger questions to be answered, and it is a pity that the Senators skirt them. Neither the arms race nor the disarmament movement is anything new. They have just been ignored for too long. Works much more noteworthy than *Freeze!* have been neglected, such as *Protest and Survive*, a collection of essays edited by E. P. Thompson and Dan Smith that tie nuclear war to the assumptions implicit in U.S. military and foreign policy—the very connections Kennedy and Hatfield ignore. But then *Freeze!* is pulp—good pulp and worthwhile pulp, but pulp nevertheless. It serves both the campaign and its authors well. One can only hope that it sells out many printings and wins tremendous support for the Kennedy-Hatfield resolution. Then we can all move on to *Protest and Survive.* □

Who Are the Terrorists?

A. J. LANGGUTH

THE *REAL* TERROR NETWORK: Terrorism in Fact and Propaganda. *By Edward S. Herman. South End Press. 252 pp. $7.50.*

I approached Edward S. Herman's *The Real Terror Network* with controlled enthusiasm, expecting a point-by-point rebuttal of Claire Sterling's *The Terror Network*, last year's attempt to hold Moscow accountable for the rise in international terrorism. Sterling's argument was so poorly buttressed that refuting it seemed scarcely worth Herman's time or mine. As it turns out, though, Herman has something more ambitious in mind than a routine debunking. He disposes of Sterling's thesis in a single chapter, quoting at length from a demolishing review by Diana Johnstone in *In These Times*, and moves on to his own argument.

Much of Herman's discussion will be familiar to readers of his two-volume *The Political Economy of Human Rights*, written with Noam Chomsky, but the tone of *The Real Terror Network*, while equally impassioned, is considerably less snide. However chilling the occasional terrorist atrocity, Herman argues, it pales beside the systematic terror inflicted by governments on their own peoples. Therefore, anyone who wants to talk about networks of terror should pay much more attention to security-police activities in Uruguay, Chile and Argentina and a good deal less to warmed-over stories about Carlos the Jackal.

Something in me objects to a measuring of evil by the inch or by the pound. On the other hand, the question of relative numbers has to be addressed. As Herman points out, "As a torturer, murderer and intimidator of large numbers, Augusto Pinochet and his Chilean associates by themselves outclass the aggregate of all the members of Claire Sterling's terror network. The CIA's estimate of all deaths attributable to 'international terrorists' from 1968-1980 is under 4,000, whereas Pinochet and company exceeded this total by a substantial margin in their first year in power."

Herman contends that for the ideological right, the international terrorist may have replaced the domestic Communist as the specter against whom a conservative candidate may profitably campaign. We are likely to hear little about the internal terrorism conducted by Washington's client states, for no administration wants to see the viciousness of a friendly regime publicized in the

A. J. Langguth is the author of Hidden Terrors: The Truth About U.S. Police Operations in Latin America *(Pantheon).*

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media. And, Herman claims, the media are all too willing to cooperate in the cover-up.

With this accusation, Herman moves onto shaky ground. One can agree that the press in this country is not above reproach, that individual publications and reporters too often swallow an official lie or fail to grasp the significance of a story published in the European press. But Herman is unable to distinguish between journalism and outright advocacy. Galling as it may be, Roberto Eduardo Viola must be interviewed and quoted accurately when he assumes the presidency of Argentina. He must also be identified—as Penny Lernoux did in the *National Catholic Reporter* and as, according to Herman, Edward Schumacher did not do in *The New York Times*—as the man responsible for the tortures and disappearances within his borders.

As in *The Political Economy of Human Rights*, Herman is impatient with distinctions between individual reporters. For his next effort, I would be happy to supply him with examples of lazy, misleading, even stupid reporting from South America in *The Los Angeles Times*. But I would also send him some brilliant work from Central America by other reporters for that same newspaper. I suspect, though, that the unfavorable examples would turn up more prominently in his pages.

Then, too, there is Herman's disturbing habit of weighing abuses in Latin America against those in the Soviet Union or Eastern Europe in a way that minimizes problems in the Socialist world. He tells us that Dom Helder Camara, the archbishop who protested official torture in Brazil, was mentioned only four times in *The New York Times*, while during the same period *The Times* mentioned Alexander Ginzburg, the Soviet dissident, on sixty-eight occasions. But Herman looked only at the record for 1976 to 1981, when persecution in Brazil was abating; Dom Helder had been quoted far more frequently earlier in the 1970s. And why should we be surprised to hear that *The Times*'s readers are more interested in Russia than in Brazil? For at least a hundred years, scholars in both hemispheres have decried our lack of interest in Latin America. I, too, would prefer to see sixty-eight mentions—and many more—of Dom Helder. But I am glad that the injustices suffered by

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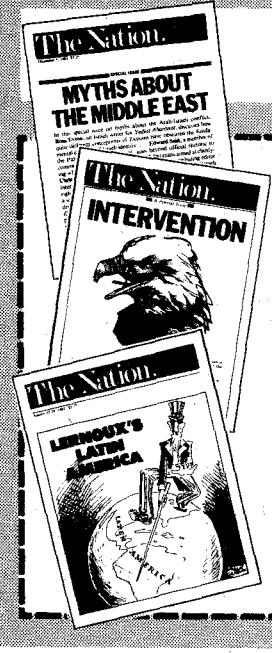

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Ginzburg have been brought regularly to our attention.

All the same, *The Real Terror Network* does remind us that there are categories and gradations even of terrorism. Burke Elbrick, the U.S. ambassador kidnapped and released thirteen years ago in Brazil, never denounced the revolutionaries who abducted him. He understood that they were fighting against an inhuman regime. Had he been seized by the Italian Red Brigades, he might not have found himself sympathizing with his captors. If we recognize that each case of armed action must be considered separately, we may have to forgo our easy indignation, but we might be better prepared to understand the remainder of this century. □

FILMS.

ROBERT HATCH

Dead Men Don't Wear Plaid
The Secret Policeman's Other Ball

Welcome to the cinema trick store, where at the moment the most popular item is *Dead Men Don't Wear Plaid*. It's a private-eye spoof, and the trick is that the script has been devised to accommodate a couple of dozen clips from celebrated thrillers of the past. These have been worked into the new footage with a dexterity that has evoked an outburst of critical acclaim, qualifying the movie's technicians as the real heroes of the occasion. The script was written by the director, Carl Reiner, and the star, Steve Martin, with the assistance of George Gipe.

It is indeed startling to see Humphrey Bogart, Barbara Stanwyck, Fred MacMurray, Charles Laughton, James Cagney, Bette Davis, Ray Milland and other heroes, villains and victims of forty years ago drop by to assist or impede Martin in his search for a missing cheese magnate. It seems like magic, though as the gimmick is repeated one begins to see how it was possible. And like all theatrical gimmicks, this one is not improved by repetition. Before long I began to wish I were watching a rerun of one or another of the films recalled by the rather spooky materialization of their protagonists, instead of sitting through a lackluster parody of their concerns and manners.

Predictably, the trick exacts a price: that is, though the interpolations are exceedingly deft, the narrative into which they are inserted is necessarily, but tiresomely, clumsy. Parody is a light and frothy act; when you sense the labor, it wilts. Furthermore, Martin has been assigned a succession of sight gags (lighting both ends of a cigarette, for example) which even his gifts for timing and mugging can't make fly. His first appearance is promising, though. Rigby Reardon (Martin) is sitting in what most viewers will recognize as Philip Marlowe's seedy office, idly reading a front-page account of the distinguished cheese monger's presumed untimely death. Then comes an enticing silhouette on the frosted glass door; he leaps to open it, and into his arms faints a lovely young woman (Rachel Ward) in a very large black hat. He shakes her back and forth, up and down, as though trying to restore the tick to an inanimate alarm clock. He rests her on the sofa and explores venturesomely into her garments, explaining as she regains consciousness that he was merely readjusting her breasts, which had fallen out of line during her indisposition.

That's a good start, fast and with the right mocking tone, but the film can't maintain the pace. Before long we are being asked to watch as Martin lathers and shaves his tongue, which, he complains, had been furred by knockout drops slipped into his drink. This laborious, unattractive and witless jape suggests the desperate brainstorming that must have gone into the picture. Anything that seems to work is tried again. The first time that Ward is called on to extract with her teeth a bullet lodged in Martin's shoulder, the scene is funny; after that, it becomes merely predictable. And the assumption that, because of some childhood experience, Reardon will run amok whenever the expression "cleaning woman" is uttered strikes me as one of the least viable of plot expediters.

Then, too, in Martin's style, a streak of meanness underlies the comedy. That worked marvelously well in *Pennies From Heaven*, but it throws a chill on this intended lark. *Dead Men Don't Wear Plaid* is being widely acclaimed for its wit, and it is certainly true that it works hard to be witty.

The Secret Policeman's Other Ball engages the talents of several members of Monty Python, and the title exemplifies that institution's conviction that the dumber the joke, the greater is

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the hilarity. The trick in this case lies more in the occasion than in the content. *Secret Policeman* is a composite of two gala performances staged by John Cleese in 1980 and 1981 for the benefit of Amnesty International. Presumably the profits from the film go to the same cause, and it must seem churlish to shy away from a project so well intended. But generous motives do not necessarily make good theater. Indeed, the opposite may be true: those who contribute their skills and reputations may relax in the knowledge that they are revealed in the flattering light of magnanimity.

As with the Martin caper, the revue gets off to a running start. The assembled company arranges itself along the footlights and submits the audience to a string of ringing insults, including allegations of penury, hypocrisy, complacency and other social vices, thus working itself into a lather of righteous indignation. This is followed by a skit in which Peter Cook, looking and sounding very much like his *Beyond the Fringe* coal miner, accosts Cleese on a park bench and regales him with a wealth of useless, largely inaccurate and, in the end, utterly mad information. Both men—the encyclopedic pest and his victim—are transcendently funny.

The subsequent sketches (to be generous about it) are uneven. Cook comes on again as the leader of a sect gathered on a hill to attend the end of the world. It is a rewarding occasion if you missed it, years ago, in its tighter, therefore more wonderfully nutty, *Beyond the Fringe* version; but too many of the other skits look like good ideas that didn't quite work and that might have been cut from shows that couldn't rely for applause on their philanthropic impulses. The program includes musical interludes which may be the highlight of the movie for rock music fans. There are solo performances by Pete Townshend, Sting, Eric Clapton, Jeff Beck and Phil Collins. My own favorite was Victoria Wood, who played idly on the piano and sang a blistering declaration of independence called "I've Had It Up to Here With Men. . . ." □

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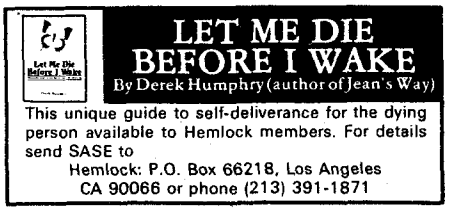
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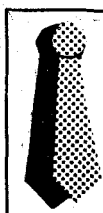

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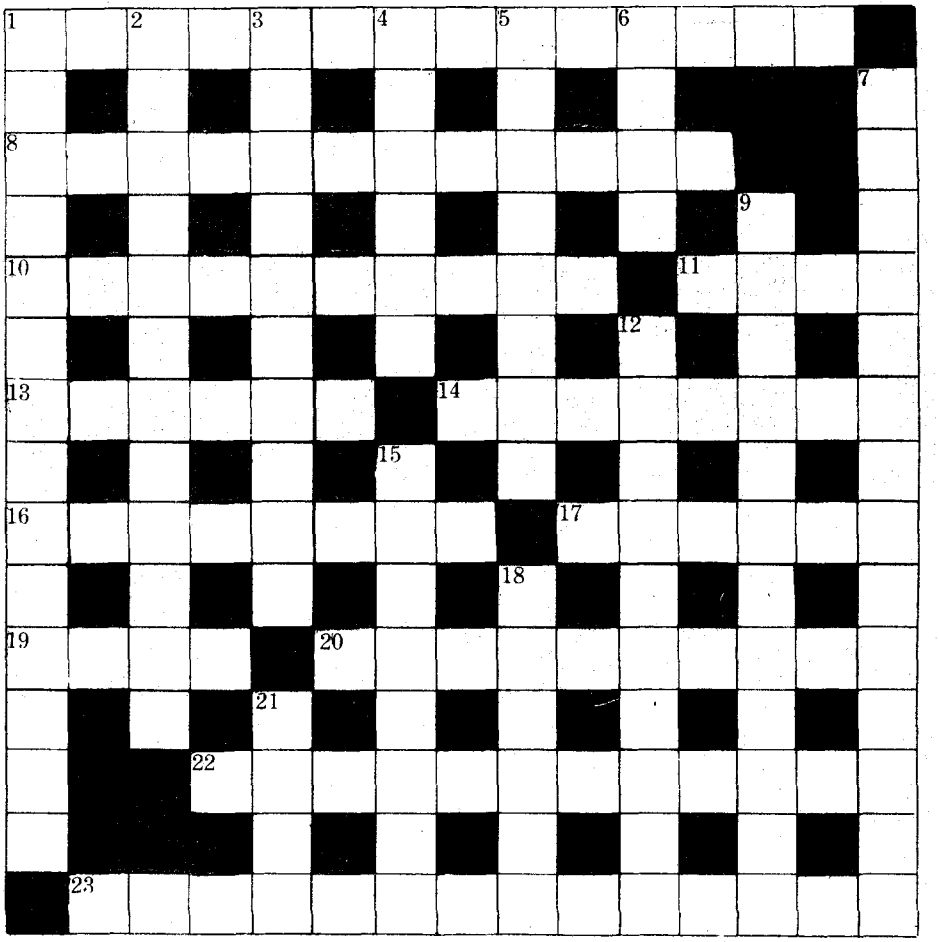

ACROSS

1 Putting on airs in church? Ford took advantage of it. (4,10)
8 They have to knock on wood in time. (12)
10 If you're interested just in case, some tongues have it first or second, etc. (10)
11 Prevents extreme youth from getting rash. (4)
13 U.S., as the French might put it, quite pleasing for a girl! (6)
14 Usually comes down after the rain. (8)
16 Be in thoroughgoing surroundings, and yet off the beam. (8)
17 One might have accompanied Cortes in formation. (6)
19 Lean on your foot! (4)
20 It possibly shows life artificially as one lives it. (10)
22 Hit-and-run method of attack, often distorted into a final blow. (8,4)
23 Night gowns? (7,7)

DOWN

1 Mother's Pa (or Pa's mother), typified by taking arms against a sea of troubles. (5,9)
2 "Foregoing" and "begot"? How conceited! (4-8)
3 Harvest after season, but insignificant. (10)
4 Shows up in how O.S.S. or Michigan claims it. (6)
5 Regular outfits. (8)
6 Drinks for little children. (4)
7 Lets the iron cool, perhaps. (14)
9 Women have all kinds of these at their fingertips. (A line's drawn crookedly around what Chopin was!) (4,8)
12 There's foresight shown in the kind of course some future savants take. (10)
15 A meringue couldn't be so perfect! (8)
18 Lie in bed, completely misrepresented. (6)
21 Terrible Ivan? (He probably was.) (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1920

A	L	L	H	A	N	D	S	O	N	■	D	E	C	K
I	■	I	■	L	■	I	■	D	■	D	■	C	■	I
D	E	B	T	O	R	S	■	D	A	U	P	H	I	N
A	■	E	■	O	■	C	■	L	■	M	■	I	■	G
■	A	R	T	F	U	L	L	Y	■	B	A	N	F	F
C	■	T	■	■	■	O	■	■	■	B	■	U	■	I
A	B	Y	S	S	■	S	U	C	C	E	S	S	E	S
T	■	■	■	H	■	E	■	O	■	L	■	■	■	H
S	A	W	H	O	R	S	E	S	■	L	A	P	S	E
C	■	H	■	E	■	■	■	T	■	■	■	I	■	R
R	H	O	M	B	■	A	T	A	Y	I	S	M	S	■
A	■	R	■	I	■	C	■	R	■	N	■	E	■	U
D	E	L	I	L	A	H	■	I	N	D	E	N	T	S
L	■	E	■	L	■	E	■	C	■	I	■	T	■	E
E	D	D	Y	■	E	S	C	A	L	A	T	O	R	S

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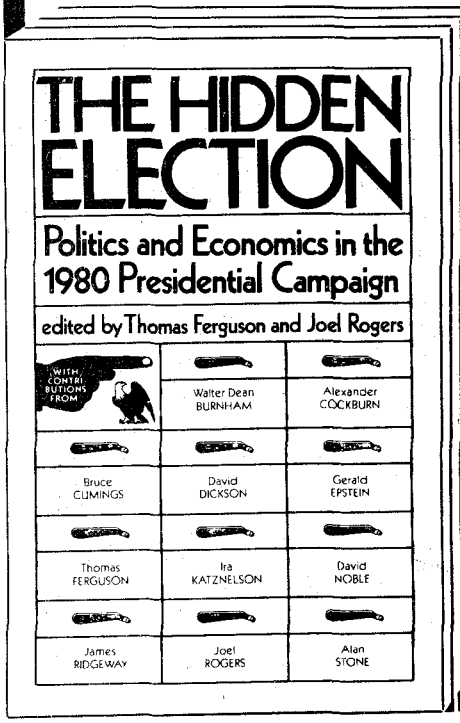

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